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Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

/Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally, There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

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but there might very likely be some between whom marriage would be permissible, such as, for instance, a man and his WiSi or his widowed BrWi.

The /Kung have no unit within which endogamy is absolutely required. Those of the Nyae Nyae region almost all marry among themselves within the region, not because a formulated social rule definitely prohibits their marrying outside but because they almost never go out. They do not like strange places, strange situations, or strange persons, and have no way of feeding themselves where they cannot depend on receiving food from relatives or friends and, in strange country, either do not know where the wild foods grow or might not be allowed to gather them if they found any. Nevertheless, a few Nyae Nyae /Kung have married other /Kung outside the region, and one /Kung woman we know is married outside her own race, with acceptance and ease of relations all around among her people and his, to a Chwana man at Gam, near the southern border of the region. We think in all probability there must be other mixed marriages along the Bechuanaland border which we do not know about, but we are safe in saying that among the Nyae Nyae /Kung such marriages are rare.

Prolonged intermarriage within the region has woven these people together and much visiting among kin develops acquaintanceships and friendships which unite the whole Nyae Nyae /Kung population. They feel themselves to be an in-group and express this feeling in the words *ju /ōasi*.[1] *Ju* means 'person' or 'persons';

[1] S. Passarge puts the phrase on his map in *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari* (Berlin, 1907, Dietrich Reimer, p. 19), spelling it *Ssu²guassi*. He places it on the line of 20° S., slightly to the east of 20° E., near what we call the centre of the Nyae Nyae region, in the area designated on his and other maps as the Kaukau Veld. He places the phrase as if it were the name of a Bushman group, like Heikom, Naron, or some other, He places the name ²*Kung* somewhat to the north-west. That is the name we spell */Kung*, which D. Bleek (*A Bushman Dictionary*, American Oriental Society, 1936, p. 447) records as */Kū*, */Ku* or */Kuŋ* (person, Bushman).

Passarge places the name ²*Kung* once more at about 23° S. as the name of another Bushman group. In sound the name is the same or very, very like the name of the more northerly group. Miss Bleek refers to this group as being popularly called 'Koon'. L. F. Maingard distinguishes between the two by spelling the name of the southerly group */Kɔ̄*. The /Kɔ̄ are to be found in B.P., in and south of Okwa. Whereas the /Kung language has four clicks (symbolized now as dental /, alveolar ≠, alveolar palatal /, lateral //), the /Kɔ̄ language is very different and has a fifth click, that of the southern Bushman language groups, the labial ⊙. The phrase *ju /ōasi* has nothing to do with the /Kɔ̄.

Maingard in 'Three Bushman Languages' (*African Studies*, 16/1, 1957, p. 37) uses the phrase as the name of a dialect of /Kung—'. . . *dyu//ōā:si* (Northern Group, a dialect of /khū, partly in South West Africa and partly in the Bechuanaland Protectorate)'. Bleek (op. cit., p. 354) does not record the phrase in /Kung (her northern Group II), but gives it in Auen (N I) and says it means 'Bushman'. She spells it *ju /nuasi*.

We think that the phrase *ju /ōasi*, which we started spelling in this way because we did not know any better and continue because it is simpler, can be applied to groups of varying size and definition, on a variety of bases, when the in-group quality in comparison with the out-group is to be expressed in some way. When we asked what they call themselves, our /Kung informants often replied '*ju /ōasi*' as though the phrase might be coextensive with Bushman as distinguished from non-Bushman (Europeans, */ku*, whom the /Kung also call 'red people', i.e. *ju gau*; or Bantu, whom the /Kung call *ju dzo*, 'black people' or */goma* (or */koma?*),' animals without hooves'). They also use *ju /ōasi* when one might expect them to say '/Kung' as distinguished from other Bushman language groups, or when they distinguish themselves from other /Kung outside their region. They said that the Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south were *ju dole* and they know that the Bushmen at Karakuwise, Nuregas, and Chadum speak /Kung but said they were *ju dole* nevertheless. I had the impression that it was the out-group quality in the phrase (strange and therefore potentially harmful) which was being expressed when they applied it as above and claimed that the Makaukau were a murderous people who have a medicine so deadly that you die if you but glance at it, and that those Nuregas /Kung put poison into the pipes they give you to smoke. One's friend or relative can also be *ju dole* if one is displeased with him.

Isaak Utuhile (a Chwana chief under Queen Moremi, in Kubi, B.P.) said that in the phrase *ju /ōasi*

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571 619 621 we were unable to find a precise translation of */õassi* but think it connotes the *we* as distinct from the *they* and has an overtone of something good and safe. The phrase is an opposite of *ju dole*. *Dole* means strange or harmful or bad—evidently synonyms to the /Kung.

602 621 [608] Because there were so many kinship ties among the people and because they have a system (the name relationship—to be mentioned later) by which they apply kin terms to persons who are not consanguineous relatives or affines, I wondered for a time if we should find that the people who call themselves *ju /õassi* comprised a kin group of the type which Murdock calls a deme.[1] A deme is bilateral and endogamous, Murdock says, 'comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite the members'. Though the Nyae Nyae region has the elements of a deme, I am convinced that it does not constitute, strictly speaking, an organized kin group of this type, of which the people are conscious as a social form. The endogamy of the region is customary and preferred, but not required by a social rule, and it is not from the group of people as a whole who are *ju /õassi* that social regulation derives.

Marriage regulations: the incest taboo and its expression in avoidances

582 835 Marriages are forbidden in /Kung social organization on one basis only. That basis is incest. In common with nearly all mankind (excepting, of course, the Pharaohs and a few other rare examples), the /Kung incest taboo prohibits marriage or sexual relations between Fa and Da, Mo and So, Br and Si. The incest taboo is extended beyond the nuclear family to certain additional categories of persons, and marriage with them is also rigorously forbidden by /Kung social law.

[842] The /Kung did not express the belief that in-breeding *per se* produces inferior offspring and must for that reason be avoided. Although they believe that in conception the semen unites with menstrual blood, their language does not use the image of blood as ours does. They do not think of relatives as having the same blood or any [827] physical substance in common, actually or by way of figure of speech to represent inheritable characteristics, in so far as we know, and do not think that common inheritance is somehow what makes it wrong to marry close kin.

The thought that incest has been avoided by mankind because it would be exceedingly disruptive to the internal cohesion of the nuclear family comes to the mind of the analyst of social forms but not to the minds of /Kung informants. And no mention was made of the obvious social advantage of marrying outside the nuclear family and thereby weaving a supporting web of kinship with many other families and bands.

The /Kung feel a deep, internalized, pervading horror of incest which they do not try to explain. Incest with parent, offspring, or sibling is unthinkable. 'Only dogs do that—not men.' 'It would be madness (*di*).' 'It would be dangerous, like going up to a lion.' Many refused to speak with me about such 'bad things'.

571 619 621 the Bushmen were saying of themselves, in effect, 'We are not animals, we are human beings', a connotation we did not discover in the thinking of the /Kung themselves. Ledimo, our chief interpreter, also a Chwana, said the phrase had the connotation of 'perfect persons' and that 'clean' and 'empty' were aspects of the word */õassi*, he thought. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas paraphrased it in the title of her book, *The Harmless People* (Knopf, New York; Martin Secker & Warburg, London, 1959).

[1] Murdock, op. cit., pp. 62–63.

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588 One of the most rigid social rules the /Kung have, besides the incest taboo within the nuclear family and its extension, is the giving of bride-service. We heard of no [591] deviation from it. A boy or man of any age, a headman or headman's son, an important medicine man, all go to live with their brides' parents or other relatives in first marriages and subsequent marriages, whatever the age of the bride.

The duration of bride-service is indefinite. Informants told us a man must stay with his wife's people until three children have been born. If he goes when the girl is eight or nine, she may not have her first child for possibly seven or eight or more years. It is safe to say that ten years of bride-service are not unusual. It is long enough for the boy's youth to have turned to manhood and for him to be looked upon as an [591] able, responsible head of his family. After his bride-service is fulfilled a man may remain with his wife's band or may return with his wife and children to his own.

The Wedding of !Nai and |Gunda

159 /Nai was a pretty little girl, we think about eight years old, or so, with a quick [582] responsive smile, when she was married on 22 May 1953, at Gautscha. The bridegroom, /Gunda, was about sixteen, we judged, and the people said he was the best young hunter among the boys of the territory.

/Nai belonged to Band 1, /Gunda to Band 2. Both of these bands belong to the [621] water-hole at Gautscha and were encamped there at the time, about 100 feet apart. We lived with Band 1.

/Nai's mother, Di/ai, had divorced her former husband, Gumtsa, the father of /Nai, and was now the second wife of the medicine man, Gao, in Band 1. /Gunda's mother, Khuan//a, had divorced /Gunda's father, Bo. Khuan//a was now the second wife of Gau in Band 2. Both Gumtsa and Bo were living far from Gautscha.

159 584 [581] The two mothers had betrothed their children some time previously. We heard that Di/ai had had her eye on the strong young /Gunda, saying, 'We must get this boy for /Nai so he will take care of her and we can get enough to eat, also karosses', and had gone to Khuan//a to propose the betrothal. Khuan//a had said, 'Yes, this is very good.' The mothers exchanged gifts. Khuan//a gave to Di/ai a necklace of five strings of ostrich egg shell beads which reached to the umbilicus (shorter strings would have been inappropriate) and Di/ai gave other beads and copper wire ornaments to Khuan//a.

Gumtsa, /Nai's father, heard about the betrothal. He had hoped to arrange a marriage between /Nai and someone of his choice at Kubi where he lived. One day in November 1952 he came to Gautscha to complain, he said, that he had not been consulted and to protest against the betrothal and take /Nai to Kubi with him. Tension [578] rose. /Nai cried and looked very frightened. The members of both Bands 1 and 2, [628] though they had no theoretical authority in the matter, all expressed themselves and poured torrents of talk over the affair, mostly supporting Di/ai in her steadfast refusal to yield /Nai, saying that Gumtsa had not fed /Nai, had not so much as sent her a gift, and should not now come and interfere in her betrothal. After four days of this Gumtsa gave up and went home.

159 584 578 Meanwhile the affair, like a spoon stirring in a pot, brought to light another tension. Some of /Nai's relatives began to express disapproval of her betrothal, not because they wanted her to go with the father but because they were angry with

/147 cont./

222 Rosinkis of the Boers
So-called "wild cucumbers"
Mushrooms which grow on termite hills

251 The veld crop that has been gathered is kept in the huts in
[415] little sacks made of duiker or ibex leather.

/148/ The Auin also stores small caches of provisions by burying sacks of veld crops; he likewise buries tschamma or ostrich egg shells filled with water. In the tops of large trees one often finds, aside from animal hides, provisions of veld crops which are kept there. [Fig. 9 appears here.]

423 Land is held in common, that is, it is the common property of a horde consisting of several families. The game in this territory, as well as the wood and the veld crops, is exclusively for the use of the members of the community that holds the land. The watering places that are to be found there are available for general use, but only if water is abundant. If water is scarce, the local group that holds the land has exclusive right to it.

361 The local groups sometimes live at considerable distances
423 from one another so that the same land is used by several settle-
621 ments. The settlements, after all, do not consist of a fixed number of families, but rather of those who are gathered together in fortuitous groupings as the occasion arises. Whatever the accidental composition of the settlements may be, their members always move within a definite area, and it is always the members of the same larger horde who form the settlements.

Friendly hordes permit tracking, that is, game that has been
423 wounded on the land of one horde may be pursued on the territory
619 of a friendly horde. A part of the booty is allotted to the "land-owner" within whose territory the game is killed. A definite
[685] agreement is required in each case since the Bushman attacks on sight any strange Bushman on his family's terrain.

628 Blood vengeance is not sought for a violation of territory if the local groups are especially friendly. The offender is driven off and, in addition, just as in Prussia, his "firearms" and booty are confiscated. The policing of the terrain is done by each Bushman on his communal land.

If women are caught trespassing, they are taken prisoner and
[721] led to the settlement of the owners of the terrain. This frequently leads to war if the women are harmed sexually during their captivity.

[Text continues on page 32]

[18 cont.]

648 Nogau, the !Kung who are settled in the Sand Veld east of the Omuramba u Omatako are more hostile toward the Whites, and the attitude of the Whites and natives on the farms is correspondingly hostile toward them. This attitude is explained by the fact that only in recent times the Bushmen were forced out of the region west of the Omuramba and now have considerably reduced the scant living space of their brothers east of the dry bed. The living conditions in this region are hopeless. The !Kung live in symbiosis with the tribes along the Okovanggo. Lacking a stable social organization, lacking fixed dwellings in the narrower sense, the Bushmen is much less manageable than, say, the black farmers. Making the tribe collectively responsible, which is the best protection for the European, cannot be used against the Bushmen, and the likelihood of seizing a Bushman who has committed a crime on the edge of the police zone or outside it is zero. One must keep this in mind in dealing with them. On the other hand, I had no bad experiences with them.

[19] The Biological Bases of Life

1. The Number

161 Seiner has estimated the number of the !Kung at about 12,000. Since then, the wars of 1914-15, as well as the steady deterioration of the water conditions, have strongly curbed any increase, so that their number has certainly not risen in the last 20 years.

621 The basic social unit is the essentially patriarchal family horde, which on the average consists of one or two old men, four to six adult men, an equal number of women capable of bearing children, and a number of old matrons, as well as the 221 children. Toward the end of the winter they assemble in great 621 numbers at the few remaining watering places; they then meet again when the first veldkost ripens at certain places, frequently several hundreds of them; and then, when summer sets in, they again move in small groups to their family terrain. As examples, 162 I shall give four hordes for which I was able to determine the

/19 cont./

162 In the age group of five to ten years, the number re-
165 mains the same.

The mortality rate is therefore very low, as among us, in fact, even lower, since the dangerous infectious diseases of childhood are absent. Insofar as the few figures given here permit one to draw conclusions, the sex ratio is 1:1. It is impossible to say what the sex ratio is among the adults. A great number
[123] of the men disappeared when I arrived -- since most of them had a bad conscience and did not want to be pinned down either metrically or photographically. It is certainly clear, however, that the higher the age group, the greater is the excess of women.

/20/ Concerning the gray-haired individuals of an advanced age, in other words, over 60 years old, I counted four men and 13 women in the case of the four hordes mentioned above, in other words, a ratio of 1:3. As is the case among us, there, too, the women on the average reach a higher age.

161 C. v. François (1) on his journey to the Okovanggo in
[113]

1. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.

1891 estimated the population of the region at 500 Honigkaffir and Hei//om, 2,000 !Kung and 10,000 Okawango. The Bushman
[131] tribe of the Wasseckeri was supposed to live north of the Okovanggo, between the Kuando and Cuito. He calls the chief
133 of the northern !Kung the person best acquainted with the land, and this chief assured him that the water conditions had been much better in earlier times. Many of the vleis that are now dry formerly had water the year round. The Okaluombe (Apato) is supposed to have formerly flowed into the Ngami.

Theodor Leutwein (2) reports:

[113]

2. Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika /Eleven Years as Governor in German Southwest Africa/, Berlin, 1906.

648 "North of Grootfontein at Gaub, a place with ample
● 621 water, a number of Kaffir and Bushmen had formed a village and
622

[20 cont.]

648 put themselves under a chief, a Herero half-breed named
621 Krüger, whose position was acknowledged" (see p. 87). "In
622 Naidaus a Bushman leader named Aribib introduced himself, who, like Krüger in the east, was recognized as the captain of the Bushmen in the west" (p. 88).

114 "During the journey of Captain Volkmann in the year 1902 to the Okovanggo, the !Kung Bushmen provided extensive help. Volkmann describes these !Kung in the following manner:
147 'The Bushmen, who are almost totally naked, are very sensitive to the cold. In the morning each Bushman has a burning log in
372 his hand, which he holds close to his chest. The other hand is placed on the shoulder with the upper arm pressed close to the body. At the resting place the log is used immediately to make
481 a fire. When a Bushman walks in front of the horse as leader, he
222 springs with incredible speed, now here and now there, to get a tuber or root out of the ground. Various berries growing on low
276 shrubs are also very popular. Anything that can serve is used as a tobacco pipe: kudu horns, calabashes, hollowed fruit of the Strychnos, old metal cartridge shells, and so forth. Most of all they like to smoke through water, which is never renewed. When they run out of tobacco, they boil the bark of a tree in the thick tobacco water, dry the bark, which has some tobacco taste, and smoke it' " (p. 180).

101 F. Seiner reports the following concerning the divisions
131 of this tribe:

"The Kung, to the best of our present knowledge, are divided into four groups. The western group seems to extend from the Portuguese border near Kurinkuru along the route via Tschitschib to the Omuramba u Owambo and then seems to be bounded by the latter and in the east by the line Nuragas--Blockfontein. The Karakuwisa group bordering them to the east inhabits the valley of the Omuramba u Omatako from Karakuwisa to Blockfontein during the dry season, and during the rainy season also the steppes 100 to 150 kilometers east and west of the Omuramba and the latter itself up to the Kanovlei. The more southerly group extends from the latter in the Omuramba to around Osondema; we shall call these Nog-au, who have already settled in the central Kalahari and can scarcely be classed with

!KUNG

[31 cont.]

764 of the Bushmen are tied up in a crouched position and buried under termite hills.

"The corpse is usually lowered in such a way that it is received by a man standing in the grave. Aside from those who bring the corpse and dig the grave, no one goes to the interment. The corpse is buried either in a crouched posture or lying in a crouched position. In the case of the crouched posture, the face is eastward, and the elbows rest on the knees, while the hands are on either side of the head. In the case of the crouched position, the corpse is placed on the left side. The left hand is placed under the head, giving the appearance of a sleeping person. The face likewise looks toward the east.

766 [32] "Before their interment, feared men, such as sorcerers who had a malign influence and others who were feared in life, but not women, are firmly tied up with thongs of game hide in the crouched posture described above; then, in some cases, the spine is crushed with a stone or ax, as a result of which the head can be bent even lower and placed between the knees. Tied up in this fashion, they are thrown into a fissure in the earth, into an anteater's hole, or into a small cave."

8. The Hunt

423 224 [621] It is well known that wherever the Bushmen live more or less undisturbed, each kin group has its precisely defined hunting territory. Vedder believes that the engravings of game tracks indicate old boundaries, as do the stone heaps which are usually designated as Heiseb graves. In any case the question arises as to who actually established these boundaries. My informants stated unanimously that the division stems from the time when the Bushmen still had a supreme chief. There seems to be some authority, however, even today, since in the bush veld the boundary lines are drawn with reference to certain trees, which, in general do not have too long a life. The Bushmen move back and forth within their hunting territories. It sometimes happens that a young hunter is not thoroughly familiar with the boundaries or that wounded game crosses the boundary. In this case the hunter must

000 [42 cont.]
622 the mother's kin group. One of the tasks of the village chief is
372 the guarding of the socha fire. Socha means pure or sacred or taboo.
778 Foods that are prohibited for certain age groups or for one sex are
[262] "socha" for these persons. The word "socha" seems to me to be a
784 very ancient one, or else it is a loan word from another language.
Every place has at least two fires: the ordinary one, which is
166 available to everyone, and the socha fire for men only. When the
372 village moves to another place, the family head takes the socha
[596] fire along. During the march veldkost is gathered. Once they
262 have arrived at the new place, the family head starts a new socha
264 fire under a tall tree and roasts the veldkost. The boys leave im-
621 mediately and go hunting, while the women and girls set up the
[462] windscreen. Whatever the old man has roasted at the socha fire
he is supposed to eat by himself; ordinarily this is what he does.
Finally a messenger arrives and announces that a head of large
game has been killed. Hours pass; the old man simply remains
seated there, while the women and children make themselves
comfortable in the new windscreen. [Fig. 15 appears here.] The
game is brought to the socha fire, and the meat from the legs and
[262] shoulder blade is cut off and given to the women and children,
who are never allowed to eat meat from the bone. All the rest is
[622] consumed by the men at the socha fire. The village chief also has
the task of organizing the celebration for the first veld fruits. The
hordes that I visited no longer practice this custom. Vedder has
described it for the !Kung of Gaub.

178 When Lieutenant Fischer rode from Namutoni to the
622 Okovanggo in 1908, the Bushmen everywhere still had a tight
organization and a common leader. When Captain François went
beyond Grootfontein for the first time, he was given considerable
support by the chief of the !Kung Bushmen. It is worthy of note
that the famed copper mines of Tsumeb, on which the welfare of
Southwest Africa depends to a great extent, were discovered by a
Bushman chief (2). Since then the eastern !Kung have not had a

2. He himself was a half-breed.

chief. The northern !Kung supposedly still have one. The oldest
chief I heard of was "χ'amme," the lion. He was a great huntsman.

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[124]

test this factor and eventually we learned that there are two aspects to the /Kung system of kin terminology. In one terms are applied according to the biological position of the persons; in the other terms are applied because persons are classified with others by having the same names, in ways this paper will explain. The factor of the name has resulted in kin terms being applied by persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, but who are considered to be related through the factor of the name in what we call the name-relationship.

114
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Miss Bleek in her paper on 'Bushman Terms of Relationship'[1] has recorded /Kung terms. Students of the subject interested in comparing her paper with this will find them in agreement to a considerable extent, but Miss Bleek's paper does not go so deeply into the terminology as this does nor does it bring out the significance of the factor of the name.[2]

128

Our material on /Kung kin terminology is presented in two parts. (I) The first part (A) deals with terms applied to consanguineous kin, and explains the factor of the name and the way the application of terms is extended through the factor of the name to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, in what we call the name-relationship; and (B) deals with terms applied to affines. (II) The second part deals with certain aspects of behaviour related to kin terminology, touching briefly upon marriage prohibitions and preferences from the point of view of terminology. It deals more fully with the joking relationship, an aspect of behaviour which relates closely to terminological categories. The paper finally touches upon the way the name-relationship serves as an amalgamating factor within a whole region among people who have no larger organized social units than autonomous bands, small ones of 10–15 persons up to large ones of 40–60 persons, composed of consanguineous kin and their affines.

[184
621]

Space does not permit here a description of the composition of bands, but we hope in a future publication to give data on the family and bands, on hunting and veldkos territories, marriage, residence, settlement patterns, and on the behaviour among kin in forming hunting and gathering parties, arrow-lending, meat-sharing, gift-giving, &c.

[1] D. F. Bleek, 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 57–70.

[2] Miss Bleek (ibid.) sometimes gives the descriptive phrase in place of, or in addition to, the term, as if we should say father's brother or mother's brother instead of uncle. For instance, *ha siy* is a descriptive phrase meaning father's younger brother or younger sister. There are differences of spelling. We should like to follow Miss Bleek's spelling, but we put down as best we could what we heard and cannot change over to her spelling because in the different areas the Bushmen's pronunciation may possibly have varied slightly. There are some terms given by Miss Bleek which we did not hear in the Nyae Nyae region. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae do not use the term *tsaw* for Br. We did not hear *||gv*, nor *soiy||gv*, nor *tsa* as a prefix to *siy*. Otherwise the terms we record are recognizable as the same terms which Miss Bleek records. Miss Bleek, on the other hand, does not record all the terms which we record as used in the Nyae Nyae area. The principal difference lies, we think, in her not taking into account the factor of the name. We think she had an inkling of there being such a factor among the /Kung she worked with, for she says they had a word */kw* which she thought meant 'kinsman' or 'namesake'. In any case, she does not show all the terms which in the Nyae Nyae region might be applied to grandparents, grandchildren and collaterals on both the paternal and maternal sides. A detailed comparison of the papers would show several examples, but one will suffice to illustrate the point. Miss Bleek records the terms for FaBr, *tsu*, and MoBr, *tsaw||gv*, giving the impression that the /Kung system makes a terminological distinction between the paternal and maternal siblings, whereas we found that in the Nyae Nyae area both terms, *tsu* and *tsaw||gv*, might be used for either FaBr or MoBr, and, besides, that the sibling term, elder Br, might also be used for FaBr or MoBr, as will be explained.

[113]

organisation among them. The various so-called tribes bear distinctive names, mostly of Bushmen or Hottentot origin, the significance of which is in most instances no longer known. Judging by the practice which still exists among the Bushmen they are in all probability descriptive either of the territory occupied by certain groups or of some physical or other characteristic of such territory or groups. Each tribe is composed of a number of family groups all of whom claim relationship to each other through a common tribal ancestor. Thus, for example, according to the traditions of the ǂ*Ao-*//*ĕin* all the groups constituting that tribe are descended from a "first big ǂ*Ao-*//*ĕin* Bushman." A similar belief likewise exists among other tribes. Nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all members of the tribe is met with among them, nor is collective action taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. Each family group forms an independent unit by itself, possessing its own group area and authority over and specific rights within such area only. In relation to other groups it is collectively responsible for the actions of each of its members. When differences arise they are confined to the groups concerned and not participated in by the rest of the tribe. On occasion, however, a weak group will seek and sometimes obtain assistance from a stronger one, but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature. The most common causes of inter-group quarrels are trespass, theft and adultery. The ensuing conflicts generally assume the form of a blood feud which is continued until a more or less equal toll of life has been taken by both sides. Women are never killed intentionally during the course of these feuds but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women are made captive and taken in marriage. Further as far as can be ascertained under no circumstances will the victors deprive the vanquished of their territory or occupy such territory lest harm or disaster should overtake them. The more widely separated groups of the tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct personal contact with each other and generally live in such superstitious fear and dread of each other that the members of one will not undertake journeys into the territory of another, even when accompanied by Europeans. The group areas are separated from each other by neutral zones into which nobody will venture except during the course of visits. These zones are usually formed by belts of trees, open flats, water courses, etc. Territorial boundaries are observed in a most scrupulous manner even by closely related groups who are living on the most friendly terms with each other. Each family is inseparably united to its habitat and has a superstitious dread of any locality but its own. The result is that even the members of completely disorganised groups are loth to seek employment outside the boundaries of their ancestral territory.

622 At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people. [423] The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such, by the nearest male relative.) Among the *Hei-||om*, on the other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilocal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out on a definite plan. The huts of the married families are placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the *Hei-||om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents, but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.

184 Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations. When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.

361 In each group area the permanent encampment is situated in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and consequently they often seem younger than they are. They are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride, and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people; they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass until I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around it, then the other scherms as well. The werf was abandoned, all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

609 pering in the grass near by. You can tell by these werfs that
621 there are Bushmen in an area, and also by their footprints on narrow trails which they share with the game and which run all through the desert. You may find footprints or you [372] may see a little pile of white ash, the fire that a Bushman kindled where he spent the night. Otherwise, to find them you must depend on luck or on the fact that the Bushmen of an area may have heard something good about you and will not be too afraid.

105 Culturally and historically, the Bushmen are an interesting people, for they and the Hottentots, who belong to the same racial and language groups, are the earliest human inhabitants still living in southern Africa. There are now from thirty [161] to fifty thousand Bushmen, who are divided into several language groups. Their languages are related to each other and [197] to the Hottentot language, and are in what is known as the Khoisan language group, made up of most of the click languages spoken in South Africa. A click language has sharp pops and clicks made with the tongue in various parts of the mouth, combined with an implosion of the breath, very diffi- [194] cult to understand, harder still to pronounce, as the slightest mistake may change the meaning of a word entirely. For example, the work *//kx'a*, which in one of the Bushman languages means *mangetti*, a certain kind of nut-bearing tree, is pronounced by making a lateral click for which the tongue is pulled sharply away from the sides of the mouth, producing the click one makes when calling a horse, followed by a scraped *k* turning to a *g*, followed by a glottal stop—a slight pause or tiny choking sound made as the back of the tongue stops the breath—which is followed at last by the vowel. To make a mistake is easy, and that is why non-Bushmen have a hard time learning the language, and why, when they do learn, they are often misunderstood.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

105 361 the veld, changing their abode every few days in search of food. Because of their way of life, they do not need villages to live in, so they rarely bother to build strong scherms, making small domes of grass for themselves instead, just a little shade for their heads, grass which the wind soon blows away. Sometimes they do not even bother with this, but push little sticks into the ground to mark their places. They sleep beside the sticks and arrange their few possessions around them, symbols of their homes.

105 361 823 621 Although Bushmen are a roaming people and therefore seem to be homeless and vague about their country, each group of them has a very specific territory which that group alone may use, and they respect their boundaries rigidly. Each group also knows its own territory very well; although it may be several hundred square miles in area, the people who live there know every bush and stone, every convolution of the ground, and have usually named every place in it where a certain kind of veld food may grow, even if that place is only a few yards in diameter, or where there is only a patch of tall arrow grass or a bee tree, and in this way each group of people knows many hundred places by name. Even if you are traveling randomly with Bushmen and ask at any time on the journey for the name of the place where you happen to be standing, they will probably be able to tell you. They themselves always like to know exactly where they are.

105 621 The social structure of Bushmen is not complicated. They have no chiefs or kings, only headmen who in function are virtually indistinguishable from the people they lead, and sometimes a band will not even have a headman. A leader is not really necessary, however, because the Bushmen roam about together in small family bands rarely numbering more than twenty people. A band may consist of an old man and his wife, their daughters, the daughters' husbands, perhaps an

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unmarried son or two, and their daughters' children. Bushmen are polygynous, and a man is allowed by custom to have as many wives as he can afford, depending on how well he hunts—usually a man can afford only one wife, sometimes two (often a pair of sisters), and once we heard of a man with four wives. For this reason there are often more women than men in a band.

The immediate family, a man, his wife, or wives, and children, is the only solid social unit; otherwise the small bands are always breaking up and recombining with other small bands as the structures of single families change, through marriages, divorces, deaths, or as the family decides to pay a prolonged visit to a different group of relatives.

Any Bushman will either be related by blood or marriage or will be acquainted with all the other Bushmen in his area but this is as far as Bushmen go in their affinities. They do not recognize as their own people strange Bushmen who speak the same language; in fact, they suspect and fear them as they do any stranger.

We have visited four of the Bushman language groups, two of which we stayed with for long periods of time. In 1951, after a survey expedition to learn where Bushmen could be found, we went into the Nyae Nyae area of South-West Africa, close to the border of Bechuanaland, to look for Kung Bushmen. We found a band living near a waterhole, as it was June, the drought of the year, and we stayed with them for four months. At first only a few Bushmen were there, but as the news spread that we were friendly, more and more people came to visit us and receive presents of tobacco and salt, for Bushmen love to smoke but rarely have tobacco, which they get in trade. Also, most of the Bushmen had never seen a European before, none had ever seen a European woman, and they came by dozens to sit together in a cluster

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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bush beside her fireplace. Also, she brought out six round green melons which are called *tsama* melons, and which, during the autumn, provide the only liquid available for all the Bushmen in the desert, and for all the game antelope besides. Under the green rind a tsama is very like a watermelon, filled with small oval seeds and very watery in texture, but is itself pale green and smaller, the size of a small cantaloupe. Tsetchwe placed one between her feet and, gripping it firmly with her strong toes, chopped a hole in the top of it with her digging-stick; then, lifting the cap away like the lid of a jack-o'-lantern, she mashed the pulp inside until it was liquid. She put the melon to her mouth and, tipping her head back, drank from it, using her long digging-stick to help push the pulp into her mouth, working it like an enormous chopstick, making a watery noise as she sucked. When Tsetchwe had collected a mouthful of seeds she put the melon down, took an old, dry tsama melon rind from her kaross, and spat the seeds into it to save them, for they can be roasted and eaten like nuts when they are dry. Tsetchwe drank all the liquid in the rind and seemed refreshed as she cast the empty rind over her shoulder and brushed off her mouth and hands.

At last Gai strode back into the werf, followed at a distance by a group of three small boys and, much farther, by three old women who stood waist-deep in bushes, close together like three antelope, craning their necks to see us.

When they noticed Tsetchwe and Ukwane, they came forward with more confidence, accepted tobacco, and, squatting immediately, began to smoke. It had been months, Ukwane said, since they had used their last tobacco, had been reduced to smoking leaves, and they were very happy to have the tobacco we had give them. Bushmen love to smoke. They say that tobacco, as well as the wild beans, takes away hunger and thirst, and, besides that, it makes their hearts glad. One

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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of the old women, Dasina, who was Tsetchwe's mother, inhaled too deeply and began to faint. Tsetchwe half turned her mother so that everyone would not see her, and, putting an arm around her for support, let the old woman lean on her shoulder. Our interpreter laughed, and Tsetchwe turned to glare. Tsetchwe's back was exactly like her mother's, broad but curved in at the waist, the old woman's a little bloated but Tsetchwe's young and strong.

Another old woman was smoking, too, puffing on a short, wide pipe cut from a leg bone of some large antelope, so big that she had to stuff one end with grass to keep the tobacco inside. She almost unhinged her jaw each time she puffed. She would inhale and spit, cough, and inhale again without a sign of dizziness, and when she saw Dasina faint she too laughed out loudly. Her name, she told us, was Twikwe.

Twikwe was skinny and tall as a man, with long, lanky arms that she flung about in the air, gesturing, and long legs that jerked when she walked. She wore only a short piece of leather that reached from her waist to her thighs, and we could see that she was wrinkled from head to foot, her skin hanging in long, vertical wrinkles down her thighs and belly, like an old apple that has dried. She talked incessantly and loudly, always opening and closing her mouth, and she joked, for Ukwane and the young boys near her laughed at everything she said. She was telling how her husband had outdistanced her as they were running away and was surely running still. Every now and then she stopped her talk to shout out to him, jeering, saying that he was depriving himself of tobacco and should come back; then everyone would listen, but no sound came from him, no answer. He never did come back, and in the weeks we were there we never saw him. Perhaps he was running away from Twikwe, for we later learned that he was living in a valley with his other wife.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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142 The third old woman was Ukwane's wife, and her name
● 621 was Kutera. She was the oldest of the four women by many years, and much the frailest; her arms and legs were spindly, and she was so thin that her slender bones stuck out. She moved slowly, feebly, and spoke in a high, thin voice like the piping of a little bird. She didn't even have the big belly that Bushmen usually have; instead, her belly clung to her backbone and she looked like a little, dry bird skeleton, ready to splinter or be blown away.

The other members of the group were the three young boys. One, Giamakwe, about eleven years old, was the son of Ukwane's old age, and the other two, Wite and Witabe, about ten and fourteen, were the sons of Twikwe and the man who ran away. All were extremely thin, with arms and legs like matchsticks, and each wore a tiny rag of a loincloth that had been cast off by someone else and cut down to their sizes—just tokens of modesty, as the boys were not covered up at all. But they were very gay and active; their shyness of
857 621 us vanished immediately and was replaced by excitement; they whirled and spun like dervishes when they saw the gemsbok, played leapfrog, jounced each other, and ran circles around the werf, followed by the baby, Nhwakwe, who chased them like a puppy and could not keep up. He would tire from time to time, fall into his mother's lap to nurse, and then, refreshed, would rush headlong after the three boys again. He never did catch them, but this did not make him angry or make him cry.

224 When everyone was present, looking hungrily at the gemsbok on the jeep with a swarm of redheaded flies already at its mouth, Gai and Ukwane got their knives and rolled the gemsbok to the ground. She fell with a hard bounce, a thump as her legs or her long horns struck, and a huff as gas rushed from her open mouth. She lay stiffly, looking awkward with

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

481 trees, and on our way we found a path where before there
487 had been none. We followed it, it led to camp, and at its end we found Gai and eighteen other Bushmen, whose feet as they had walked in single file had worn a track. As we ap-
609 proached, the eighteen strangers drew back and together, the women behind the men, babies in their arms, and watched us hostilely. Gai persuaded them to sit down, which they did, all together, and when we asked them if they were hungry they said yes, so we gave them a drink of water and set a big pot of cornmeal to cook on our fire. We gave them each tobacco, which they smoked while they waited for the cornmeal to cook.

621 In that band there were six men, five of them in their thir-
162 ties, five women who seemed much younger, and one woman
596 who was very old. There were also three young boys and three babies, two girls and a boy. We guessed from the looks of the people—and later found that we were right—that the band was a small extended family. The old woman seemed to be the key figure of the band, for with her were her two sons and three daughters, their wives and husbands, and their children. The sixth man—a boy, really—did not seem to belong in this tightly woven group, for he was not married, being too young; he seemed too young to be the child of the old woman, though too old to be her grandchild, and I wondered who he was. Witabe's father was not there, and on that trip we did not find him.

142 The three sisters of the band were all arrestingly beautiful. They looked alike, with very fine faces, slender features, large eyes, and they all wore handsome white bead ornaments. Heavy eyelids, set off by the pronounced, delicate bones of their faces, made them look of uncertain race, or like houris, and their slender bodies with skins slightly wrinkled made them seem of uncertain age. Perhaps the sun had made the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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136 stood on his branch with the legs wide apart, bracing himself against the wind. When I got near he dropped from his branch and let the wind carry him away, and I saw that he had been watching a colony of ground squirrels close by which had not seen him and did not see me. They, too, were miserable with the cold, for they walked around slowly as they looked for seeds to eat. I sat down to watch them, which they noticed, and some of them stood up to watch me. Their fur was oddly greenish and it blew in the wind showing little patches of white. They had long fat bellies, long heavy thighs, and little feet, and when they stood up they, too, kept their legs wide apart and braced. As they peered at me I heard on the wind almost inaudibly high, soft whistles, their cries of warning to each other. They decided I was dangerous and vanished down their holes.

123 I came back to the werf with some wood, which I gave to the Bushmen. They reached out their hands for it and put it on their fires, but they didn't say a word. Later, in our camp, we put all the wood we had on one great fire, where the Bushmen joined us and where we spent the morning making and drinking cocoa. We even put up a white canvas, and, lying between it and the fire, we were fairly warm.

123 Ukwane used that occasion to tell us something about his
621 life and his relatives, his former wives, the children he had
602
159 fathered and where they lived. Most of this centered around melon rights, or who could live in which areas, for if a person is born in a certain area he or she has a right to eat the melons that grow there and all the veld food. It is perhaps this factor that explains in part why the Gikwe bands are composed the way they are; a man may eat the melons wherever his wife can and wherever his father and mother could, so that every Bushman has in this way some kind of rights in many places. Gai, for example, ate melons at Ai a ha'o be-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

cause his wife's mother was born there, as well as at his own birthplace, the Okwa Omaramba, where we had found the eighteen Bushmen, who after all were not strangers but closely related to Gai and Ukwane and an extension of Ukwane's band.

Ukwane himself had had three wives, and he and his first wife had been divorced, which Bushmen do by announcing the divorce and separating. There is no ceremony connected with divorce, and no difficulty, as there is no ceremony connected with any marriage but the first. After a divorce a Bushman man may take up residence with another woman whom he prefers.

Without the visible evidence of ceremonies, however, it is hard for non-Bushmen to recognize what is happening, as occasionally Bushmen live together for short periods without being married, or commit adultery. But in cases such as these there is someone who does not want the union to be permanent, either the man or the woman, or perhaps his or her children; perhaps even the man and woman are tabu relatives, and unless everyone concerned is more or less in accord, the union does not take place. Among Bushmen, incest and adultery are strongly condemned.

Once, among Kung Bushmen we lived with, a woman ran away from her husband to take up with another man. She had considered marrying him, and they ran off one night to his family to live permanently. When her husband found out, he got so wildly angry, taking up his spear and sharpening it, that the headman of the band set off after the elopers to preserve the peace. My brother and I went with him, and at noon we found the lovers resting in the shade.

The headman talked with the elopers and told them how they were bringing shame on both their families, and how the woman's husband was violently upset. By this time the

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The people from Okwa camped right beside Ukwane; the two werfs were shaded by the same little tree.

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9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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GiKwe

CHAPTER SEVEN

Mood Songs

When we came to the pan of Ai a ha'o we found a small veld fire burning just at its edge on the opposite side and we noticed someone standing near it, partly obscured by the smoke. We called out to see who it was and a cracked voice answered: "Ukwane." He came over to us and told us he was looking for the piece of string that he had made which must have dropped out of his hunting-bag. He had been searching patiently over the ground all afternoon, but I did not see how he could hope to find it with all the smoke and with his hazy eyes that were almost blind. He decided to go home with us and fell in step beside us. We were hurrying because of the women's heavy loads and because of the fire, which by now was putting up a cloud of boiling, brown smoke that streaked out with the wind, making a long pathway above us that reached from the fire to the sun. Birds were being chased from the bushes, still singing because they always sing in the afternoon, and insects from the grass.

We went past the fire and soon it crossed our track behind us and went harmlessly into the west. As we walked, Ukwane told us that during the afternoon the band of seventeen Bush-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

men whom we had met at Okwa had arrived and were planning to live beside us, as life at Okwa was getting very hard. The veld, said Ukwane, was beginning to dry, a condition that we had noticed, which was showing itself in the scarcity of roots and in the rotten, bitter melons. But we suspected that jealousy as much as anything else had brought the seventeen people to Ai a ha'o, the fear that Ukwane's band was feasting while they were being deprived.

At camp we found only three men of the visiting band, as the others were waiting somewhere in the veld, and the members of our expedition, who were trying to find a place for the visitors to camp. The three men were looking stonily around, seeing nothing that seemed agreeable. They had first been offered a grove of trees right by our camp, but they had refused this because of the mamba which they had heard about from Ukwane and which they believed might still be near. One spot after another failed to suit them, and finally they dropped their skin bags of belongings under a pair of small trees very close to Ukwane's werf. Ukwane welcomed them, of course, but I think he felt that difficulties would arise with them living so close and always watching.

One of the men went to summon the others of his band, who had been resting in a patch of heavy thorn bushes not far from our camp, and they came, carrying their youngest children and their bags of belongings, followed by their children old enough to walk by themselves. One of these was a toddling youngster who hadn't been walking long and who surely had been carried for most of the journey. The others were three young boys of about the same ages as the boys of Ukwane's band; when they saw where they were going to be living, they abandoned their parents with a great shout and, running to Ukwane's werf, started a game of horse and rider with the three boys of Ukwane's band. The Gikwe bands

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

574 621 857 do not meet very often, and when they do the children play together day and night. All the young boys were extremely happy to see each other and expressed their joy by starting their game at once, wasting neither time nor breath to say hello. Before the adults of the visiting band had set their bundles on the ground two little horses with their riders had run past, the riders trying to unseat each other.

574 621 361 They played all afternoon and into the evening while the adults went about the business of setting up a camp. I went to the new werf to watch and found that the women had stored away their belongings, stuffing some of their bundles among the tree roots, hanging others from the branches, and were now clearing grass, each woman clearing a small circle for her family. Soon five circles were formed, not quite touching, all sheltered by the branches and all in the space of a few square feet. I helped one woman pull grass, for she was clearing it tuft by tuft, pulling it up with her hands, and as I did this I felt something cold and firm in the grass I was holding, and, looking down, I saw that I was holding an asp. I dropped it, one of the Bushman men ran up to kill it, and one of the women lifted it between her fingers and placed it in her kaross. Later it would be cooked and eaten by a child.

224 574 That same afternoon, some of the members of our expedition went hunting and shot a gemsbok, which was brought back to camp and given to Ukwane to divide. This was, perhaps, a great mistake on our part, for Ukwane gave the entire carcass to the newcomers except for the head, one foot, and a little of the liquid from the rumen, which he kept for his own people. Twikwe dug a pit in the veld and roasted the head in it, and that night, while the newcomers were still butchering, drying, and cooking their larger share, the mem-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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534 shaded his dwelling, had about sixty cocoons on each rattle of the pair, and in each cocoon, from which the pupa had been carefully extracted and the cocoon closed up again, there were from ten to twenty fragments of ostrich eggshell, each fragment chipped to a uniform size and round. Each pair of rattles, of course, is expected to last a lifetime and more, and I'm sure that Gai's rattles were older than he.

621 The day before we left, Ukwane's band and the visitors
578 from Okwa decided that since they were all together and in
756 sufficient number, they would hold a dance. Perhaps it would
533 purge the bad season or relieve the strain of jealousies they felt toward each other. Dances are usually held at night, but this time, out of consideration for us, they agreed to hold it during the day so that we could film it. We found a place which would be suitable for filming, helped gather sufficient wood because there would have to be a fire, no matter how hot the day was, and as we did all this the six young boys got more and more excited, tried on dance rattles, danced tight little circles around each other and tugged at the elbows of the adults, urging them to start.

756 Some of the women wanted to sing, others felt too hot, too
535 tired, but the men walked among them encouraging them all.
533 A dance is long, hot work for women, the pleasure of dancing being mostly for the men. At last Twikwe and Dasina went to the spot chosen for the dance and, sitting side by side at the fire, their backs to everybody, sang a few bars and began to talk, then sang a little more, joined now by Tsetchwe, who sat beside them and began to sing in earnest. All three of them looked so small down in the grass and set up such a loud noise singing—for in order to interest the other women they were shricking the song at the top of their voices—that they seemed like three tree frogs or three cicadas, hard to notice in the landscape but putting forth earsplitting songs.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

said to be ant lions which at night rise from the bottoms of their little traps of sand.

Since we had lived a year in Nyae Nyae we knew the round of the seasons, which Kung Bushmen say are six in number. We came there in July, in winter and the start of the drought, the coldest season. August was bitterly cold and also dry, but in September the air began to get warmer and heralded the next season, called "little winds before the rain," a season of whirlwinds, drought, and clouds of dust. In October, suddenly and presenting a startling sight, a thorn tree near our camp turned quite green and the heat began to be intense. This was the start of the springtime, the dryest, hottest time of all the year and a time of starvation, for the water in the waterholes gets very low until only a little remains on the bottoms and the wild roots push sap into their vines so that the vines turn green and sprout but the roots themselves are shriveled. This was the worst season of the year for the people. Before this, during the winter, the large extended band that we had gone to visit was separated into little family groups that were scattered through the veld, living at little waterholes that did not keep their water all year long. During the dry season the water in these waterholes vanished, causing the small family bands to gather at the last sure waterhole of the area, a waterhole called Gautscha, which was beside a huge flat pan called Gautscha Pan.

There was one rather large band that always lived at Gautscha and numbered some forty people, who divided themselves into sometimes three, sometimes four family groups. They thought themselves lucky to live there, for Gautscha was considered to be a sort of paradise, where the waterhole was cool and deep, and (it was said) game gathered at all times to lick the salt, for Gautscha was a salt pan. It was the salt that made Gautscha most desirable, because salt is

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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that the great trains dragging hampered its mating, would twist and thrash and struggle, squeezing the wings between its thorax and abdomen, which did break off the wings but left the stubs. More and more ants were flying to the light and their circles were growing bigger and bigger until we couldn't move without stepping on them, but the women, getting more excited and moving very quickly, as if responding to the pace and the excitement of the ants, scooped them up and ate them as fast as they landed, spitting out the silver wings as one would spit out chaff. Over our heads a few night birds and many bats were flying, catching and eating the ants before they reached the ground, and around our feet huge pink hunting-spiders rushed in and out of the swarm, dragging the ants from their acts of copulation and carrying them away to eat them in the dark.

Before long the flight had ended. Only a few late-coming ants bumped against the light, the night birds and bats were gone, and the spiders had run away. Nothing was left but the white wings like petals all over the ground and the wings that were caught in people's throats or stuck to their faces. The women, quite composed now, brushed themselves off, and one of them sang a song:

Gurico gum, ah
Ah, ah.

I noticed that each woman had managed to save a little bag or vegetable husk full of ants for her husband. These they put away.

That was in the late spring, a fertile season full of promise, and when it was over the best season of the year began, called the Veld Food Season, which starts some time in March. The big rains have ended, the air is warm but not hot, the veld is filled with water, game, fruit, roots, and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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green-leafed vegetables, and sometimes many of the people of the large extended bands come together to live, to hold important ceremonies which require many people, and to enjoy each other's company. Sometimes they separate into very small bands because they can now go anywhere they wish, each family going to the part of the veld where the type of food grows that the family most enjoys. There is water everywhere, in small seasonal waterholes, in shallow salt pans, in hollow trees, and the people thrive and grow quite fat. One of their favorite foods, one that grows in great abundance at this season, is a ground nut called *tsi*, which grows on a trailing vine and is so fat that if you leave a kernel of it on a piece of paper it will leave a greasy stain. Tsi is regarded by the Kung Bushmen as a very powerful food, one of the powerful veld foods in which there is a special essence, something mysterious and magic which gives them a life force all their own so that it would be dangerous to eat them during the year if this life force were not first subdued or not first integrated with the life force of the people. These foods are the mainstays of the Bushmen's diet, and are fat; and every year people in their child-bearing years, when they consider themselves subject to harm, protect themselves against these foods by a ritual act.

The act of protection is called *choa*, and it is interesting because it differs from the protective rituals performed by agricultural peoples to save their crops or animals from harm, or to cause their increase. The Bushmen choa themselves not to protect their fertility, for decrease in the number of children is not a problem to them, but to make sure that they, the young adults and mainstays of the community, will not get thin and starve.

Those whom Bushmen call "old people," adults who have had three children, are expected to protect themselves and also to protect young people of the same sex.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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136 tle feather boas around their waists, which were the wings.

As we left the pan a boar got up from the grass where he was lying and ran before us, a warthog with a heavy neck and red bristle of a mane, with curved tusks and with his tail stiff up in the air like a banner, trotting like a horse. He held his head high and ran away proudly, and he was old and very massive for a pig.

Not long after that we saw the two thatched rooftops of the village of Gam. A feather of smoke was rising over the rooftops, and soon we were there.

648 609 The people must have heard our trucks. A small crowd was standing in the bushes, the people watching apprehensively as we came up. Mostly they were Bushmen, naked and smooth and brown, but here and there we saw a Bushman man wearing a ragged shirt or a woman in an old, filthy dress. In the crowd, towering over the Bushmen, were the Chuanas, a woman and a man, the woman dressed in a turban and a long dress, the man in shorts and a jacket. These two were the cattle-keepers. When our trucks stopped, the woman recognized us and, clapping her hands together, ran forward to meet us, followed at once by several Bushmen who also recognized us, and after that the crowd broke and all ran forward, the tense looks of apprehension gone, for if all the Bushmen had not known us they had heard of us and knew who we were. In a moment we found ourselves in the center of the crowd as all the Bushmen who knew us threw their gentle arms around us, touching us so lightly that it was like being embraced by moths. All those who did not know us crowded to look at our faces, and everyone talked at once until our ears rang. The Chuana couple, both more reserved, held back until the others had greeted us and then came forward to shake our hands.

621 When the excitement had died a little and everyone had a

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

chance to look at everyone else and see who was there, we found among the Bushmen one entire band, six people, who once had lived at Gautscha. These were an old man, his two daughters, his son, his grandson, and his son-in-law, a man named Lazy Kwi. Because Kung Bushmen have relatively few names in use, resulting in the fact that many, many people have the same name—one man we knew had two wives named Kushe and two daughters named Xama, called after his mother, whose name was also Xama—they distinguish their various Xamas and Kwis with nicknames.

Lazy Kwi was a kind, warmhearted man, devoted to his family, and was named Lazy, an insulting name, only because he was not a good hunter. He was heavy-footed, therefore noisy, and not an excellent shot; but he was a good trapper and got meat for his family by snaring birds and lizards. But because he did not hunt he never owned large shares of meat and ate only what came to him by the Bushmen's system of dividing, which put him in the role of poor relation and sometimes forced him to eat what others would not touch. Once he had suppressed his pride and eaten a badger. Although the other Bushmen had turned up their noses at this rank meat, he had said: "I am the badger-eating man," laughing off their scorn to hide his shame. He had eaten it sadly, and the sweet taste of it had sickened him and had made him vomit and retch for the rest of the day. Luckily for his family, his father-in-law made beautiful arrows and in the hunting system of Bushmen the man who gives or lends the arrow with which a buck is shot is automatically the owner of a large share of the meat. His father-in-law often lent arrows and often got meat. In fact, the old man had a dominant voice in the running of the family, for though old men may be aged and consumptive, those younger than they do what they say. Far from being derogatory, "Old" is a term of

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

888 621 respect. In his family, the old man decided where the band would live.

157 Lazy Kwi's sister-in-law was called "the old woman." Her name referred not to her age but to her bearing and her personality, for she was outspoken, positive, and sure, qualities that are seldom found in young Bushmen.

609 She was not at all surprised to see us. She took my ear to turn my head, and kissed me on the cheek. Lazy Kwi laughed when he greeted us, showing a gap in his mouth where a tooth was missing, and called me his wife, a joke among Bushman men, who pretend they will marry any woman who is not a tabu relative. His baby hugged my legs and showed a huge white smile, then held up his arms to be lifted. He had grown so that I could hardly get him off the ground.

586 159 Many Bushmen who greeted us had been at Gam when we had lived there, and among them was a young girl whose name was Ungka, a very common name; as she had no distinguishing nickname, we called her Beautiful Ungka, for so she was. She was probably the most beautiful girl in all Nyae Nyae, and even though she was only sixteen years old she already had a flaming past. When she was ten she was married to a man much older than herself, but, young as she was, she knew what she wanted, and because the old man filled her with loathing she cut off all her hair and all her ornaments, rubbed ashes on her face until she was filthy, and swore she would stay that way until her marriage was dissolved. Of course it wasn't long before her husband and her parents complied with her wishes and she became single once again.

583 159 When she was about thirteen she attracted the attention of another much older man who was already married but who became so inflamed by her beauty that he begged her parents to give her to him as a second wife. This time her parents consulted with her, entreating her to marry him as

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

sibly as the result of a very prevalent eye disease. He had been blind when we knew him as a baby; now his infected eye had shrunk away, leaving a socket. As I watched him, I noticed that his good eye had become infected too and bothered him; he had developed a habit of turning his head from side to side, squinting with his good eye, trying to see depth or judge distance, and also a habit of rubbing both eyes with his knuckles. When Dikai saw me watching him she pointed to her own eyes, then to Dabe's, to show that she and Dabe, too, had the infection, and when I said that I would give her medicine when we got back to Nama she nodded. "I was waiting for you to come," she said.

Hearing me speak of medicine, Little Gashe glared at me balefully. I had treated his eyes before and perhaps he remembered that the medicine was painful, or perhaps he was afraid that I would harm his eyes. He scrambled into his mother's lap to nurse and, facing toward her for safety, glared at me over her shoulder. Little Dabe, seeing this, climbed into Dikai's lap too and she had to nurse them both, one on each knee, at each breast. Her lap became a battlefield. They kicked and pushed and got in each other's way.

Dikai and her two boys were only half of Gao Feet's family, for he had another wife, his first wife, who had a daughter and a grandchild. We were not surprised that these people were not with Gao Feet; his two wives did not get along well. Since Dikai was young and pretty, Gao Feet spent his time with her. We asked Gao Feet where his first wife was, and he told us that she was living with her daughter's family and with Dikai's mother in a dry forest not far away where tsi was growing. We asked for other people, the other members of Toma's large band, and Toma told us that they were well, living far away in a mangetti forest. Naturally, Toma's family had not seen this group for some time because of the dis-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

621 tance, but Toma said now that he would take us to see them someday soon because he believed that we would be able to help them; one man in their band, a man called Short Kwi, or sometimes Kwi the Hunter, had been bitten in the leg by a puff adder and was very badly hurt. We got the impression
159 that he had been bitten recently and, hoping that we might
621 draw the poison from the wound, we said that we would leave
752 at once. But Toma said that it had happened during the last rainy season, so there was no use hurrying; other Bushmen had cut the wound and had sucked the poison, saving Short Kwi's life, but his leg was so badly hurt that he couldn't use it. It had turned black, said Toma, and black liquid ran out at the wound. We thought then that there would be nothing we could do to help; but perhaps rumor had exaggerated the misfortune, and so we told Toma that we would certainly go to do what we could.

224 Short Kwi came from a famous family; he was the younger
159 brother of the man who murdered Toma's father, but Short Kwi was famous in his own right, famous as a hunter. He often killed more game in a year than many other men kill in their lives, a great hunter among a hunting people. The other Bushmen told stories about him—about the time he had killed four wildebeests in a herd of many, about the time he had killed an eland, a wildebeest, and a wild pig all in one day. It was his technique of hunting to be relentless in his pursuit; therefore, if he shot an animal and suspected others to be in the vicinity he would let the wounded animal run where it would while he hunted on and shot another, and another, and when all were as good as dead he would rest, then return to pick up the trail of the one that he felt would die the soonest. He almost never lost an animal, for his eyes
[151] were sharp and he could follow a cold trail over hard ground and even over stones; he could tell from fallen leaves whether

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Short Kwi the Hunter

THERE were about forty people who had moved in beside us at our camp by Nama Pan, having settled overnight into seven werfs, each concealed from the others in the privacy of the grass and forming a community that was superimposed on ours, for the werfs, each a little clearing containing several grass nests or several scherms symbolized by sticks thrust in the ground, surrounded us on all sides and life went on as if we weren't there. People walked back and forth through our camp on their way to patches of veld food or to the water pan, and soon little paths appeared which we had not made.

Mostly, the people were Bushmen from Gam who had left there right after we did and had walked along after us, taking their time, sleeping one night on the way. They had brought all their children and old people, all their belongings, and evidently planned to stay. Even the Chuana woman had come, riding her donkey, followed on foot by two of her Bushman servants, and she had made herself a camp quite far away from us to prevent the donkey from annoying us with its brays.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

621 574 The other werfs were much nearer us, as the people wanted to keep an eye on each other, to see that we gave food or presents to all when we gave to one, but also because they enjoyed being together and wanted to be able to visit each other quickly at any time at all. Next to our camp on one side was Lazy Kwi's werf, and on the other side lived Toma with his wife and Gao Feet with his wives. At the far end of their werf lived Crooked Kwi with his wife and the old grandmother. They were between our camp and the pan, and beside their werf ran a pathway, the way used by the people on the other side of us to reach the water.

593 On the other side of the path, in the shade of a tree, lived one more small band, the band of a young man of perhaps thirty, who lived with his twelve-year-old son and his eight-
[583] year-old wife, whom he was nourishing while waiting for her
[591] to grow. These young people had chosen their spot because the little girl was Gao Feet's daughter by his first wife and was still so young that she wanted to live near her mother. She was a sad little girl with a grave face and troubled, wondering eyes; in fact, all these young people were very grave and sad—the young man's first wife had died and he now had no one to care for him because the little girl, his new wife, spent a great deal of time with her mother and he was left alone. The son was lonely too, having no mother and no one to care for him except his sad young father. His father was too troubled, too preoccupied, to be a companion to him, his little stepmother was too young, and he spent most of his time sitting on a rise of ground overlooking the werf where he lived, watching other people going by.

[142] The little girl took after her mother, Gao Feet's ugly wife,
but her two men, her husband and her stepson, were a family
533 of great beauty. Both had wide, grave eyes and golden skins, and both were musicians, but the young father himself was

Il: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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MEAT FROM THE CHASE is shared by all among the band. An old woman, *below*, is skinning her portion of an ostrich.

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become both the measure of a man's ability and a test of his readiness to marry. Part of the explanation may come from the passion in hunting. Like their fires, the tales of hunting burn brightly for the !Kung in the night, warming their memories. Of equal or greater significance is the !Kung craving for meat and undoubtedly for protein. Unlike the sharing of *veldkos*, limited to the nuclear family, a complex system of distribution insures that everyone in the *werft* will get a share of all game killed. This is done, they say, simply to prevent jealousy and the inevitable renunciations that go with it. The !Kung declare "We are a jealous people" and they try to keep jealousy at a minimum, for they fear it.

Still another aspect of hunting—perhaps the most important in terms of subsistence—is the by-products it provides. Sinew is used for thongs

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THAT the !Kung live in small bands, flexible in their composition and spread widely over their Kalahari world, is owing in good part to their environment and to the technological means by which they cope with it. But the effect of the environment, carrying through the technology, penetrates the structure of the bands themselves and influences the way in which the !Kung distribute themselves around their resources.

[p. 71]

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
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quarrels, a focal point in discussion of plans, a comfort to the bereaved and a strength for those in doubt.

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The functions of headman, as headman, are of a different nature. In order to take up residence with a band, a person must have certain ties of kin with members of the band. Such a person may live with his own parents or siblings, or with his wife's parents or siblings. It is a wide choice, providing for flexibility—but within limits. There are, of course, exceptions, and visitors from other bands are never denied, but possession of some kinship tie seems to be a general requirement for residence which,

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602 if violated, would subject the violator to criticism by the band.

626 SHORT of fighting, all the !Kung can do to control the actions of individuals is to criticize. But this is apparently enough. A man, expelled from his band, *might* be able to survive alone in the desert—with luck, he might even manage for years. If he could persuade his family to come with him, they might survive together even more easily, for the family is the basic subsistence unit. But freshly gone, he would be an outlaw and, in time, become a stranger to his people. This would be an unthinkable

622 areas, baobab trees, and—most important—*mangetti* trees that hold
423 water in their trunks, and *tsi* areas. It is these "owned" features, and the direction from the waterhole in which they lie, that define a territory. Since, as we have seen, *mangetti*'s and *tsi* are the most important !Kung resources, they are the main determinants of a direction.

But animals are *not* owned. Neatly bounded sections of the countryside are *not* owned. A territory, therefore can best be defined as the combination of a permanent waterhole and a direction: the !Kung so define it by the word "side." One headman's territory is said to be on this "side."

361 JUST as the Kalahari's scant re-
621 sources of food and water are distributed in accordance with a geographical pattern, the !Kung bands
622 are distributed in accordance with both a geographical and a social pattern. Natural resources are the focal points in the geographical pattern of band distribution: headmen are the focal points in the social pattern. In a sense, headmen tie together the two patterns, the concept of headmanship being the embodiment of a certain quantity of resources in a person around whom a band can take shape and operate. Because of their kin ties with a headman, the people living round him, clustering their *skerms* around his and moving with him over his territory, feel right in being where they are.

622 The headman receives no special
554 privileges. He is no more wealthy than other men. If he is a leader, he may assume responsibility and speak out. But, as headman, he need not speak, for headmanship is a silent office and while the headman lives—by his waterhole or out somewhere on his territory with his band—he serves his whole purpose.

423 Most of the permanent waterholes
312 have two !Kung bands associated with them, and the *tsi* areas are likewise shared by bands from the same and different waterholes. Such sharing may come about because two brothers (only one of whom may be the true headman) live together and feel they possess joint claims. It may come about through the passage of time, which confuses genealogies and lets claims, once tenuous, become firm through usage. The !Kung are a people of present tense, living—in their minds as well as with their

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HAPPY LIFE of children includes such moments as these: a laughing game of "pull-away," above.

423 bodies—from day to day. If the water-
312 holes were not shared, some bands would be without permanent water.

● 621 Not all !Kung territories are of
166 equal value in terms of food and water. Some people have *mangetti*
361 nuts, some have *tsi*, and some have both. There is mild wealth, and gentle poverty in *Nyae Nyae*. Territories also change in value year by year. The rains may fail in some parts of *Nyae Nyae*, and fall in others. In normal years, *mangetti*'s in the north may become available earlier in the season than those of the western forests. Because of the flexibility of band composition, the bands gathering *mangetti*'s in such a favored area are enlarged by people who would otherwise have to wait.

This is usually a temporary situation, the newcomers having more the status of guests than members of the bands. Often, whole bands—headman and all—will visit kin in this manner. During years of dessication, the fact that a person has several choices of bands in which to live becomes vital to him—he can move from a hopeless place to perhaps a better one.

BY such means, balance works out between the desert's resources and the numbers and distribution of !Kung who exploit them. No one district or *mangetti* forest could support more than a limited number of people. Only certain people possess the necessary kinship qualifications to join a band. The flexibility of their

[P. 87]

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
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621 361 166 composition enables bands to swell during lean years, while the concept of association, through a headman, to a district and a territory provides for the distribution of people throughout the barren land.

If a band were confined strictly to one territory, or could use the resources of another territory only over the bodies of the band that lived there, there would be many less *Nyae Nyae* !Kung—perhaps none at all.

823 The !Kung give various reasons for their preference of the territory they consider home. For some, it is where they were born. For others, it is where they spent their youth. And for some, it is where they are waiting in their old age. Hunters say they must know their territories—every pan and stretch of bush, every unusual tree—and they say that to amass such knowledge takes years. An old man we met while he was visiting for a few days from the west, said that the weather was more gentle in Debera, the place where he lived, and that, moreover, "there are no stones in Debera ground."

Early one autumn morning, blue and sweet, when dawn air was still fragile on our faces, a close !Kung friend stood beside me in /Gautcha Territory, looking across a pan that still smiled with water despite the late season. It was the pan where he had come, as a young man, to live with his bride. We were quiet, waiting for the rising sun. "/Gautcha is beautiful," he said.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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SHARING, TALKING, AND GIVING: RELIEF OF SOCIAL TENSIONS AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THIS paper describes customs, practised by the /Kung Bushmen in the Nyae Nyae region of South Africa, which help them to avoid situations that are likely to arouse ill will and hostility among individuals within the bands and between bands. Two customs which seem to be especially helpful and which I describe in detail are meat-sharing and gift-giving. I mention also the /Kung habits of talking, aspects of their good manners, their borrowing and lending, and their not stealing.[1]

The common human needs for co-operation and companionship are particularly apparent among the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Independent living, outside the band structure,[2] does not exist for individuals. Nuclear families do not live alone. The arduous hunting-gathering life would be impossible without the co-operation and companionship of a larger group. Moreover, in this society the ownership of the resources of food and water is organized through the headmen of bands, and individuals have rights to these resources by being members of a band connected to the headman by some near or remote kin or affinal bond. The /Kung are also extremely dependent emotionally on the sense of belonging and on companionship. Their need to avoid loneliness, I think, is actually visible in the way families cluster together in their werfs and in the way people sit, often touching someone else, shoulder against shoulder, ankle across ankle. Comfort and security for them lie in belonging to their group, free from hostility or rejection.

Their security and comfort must be achieved side by side with self-interest and much jealous watchfulness. Altruism, kindness, sympathy, or genuine generosity were not qualities which I observed often in their behaviour. However, these qualities were not entirely lacking, especially between parents and offspring, between siblings and between spouses. One mother carried her sick adult daughter on her back for three days in searing summer heat for us to give her medicine. /Naoka carried her lame son, Lame ≠Gao, for years. Gau clucked and fussed over his second wife, Khuan//a, when she was sick. When /U had a baby, her sister, Di/ai, gathered veldkos for her for five days. On the other hand, people do not generally help each other. They laugh when the lame man, Kham, falls down and do not help him up. /U's jealous eyes were like those of a viper when we gave more attention to her husband, ≠Toma, than to her because he was much more ill. And, in the extreme, there is the report from the 1958 expedition of an instance of callous indifference in one band and the probable abandonment of a dying old childless woman, an old aunt, when her sister, with whom she lived, had died.

Occasions when tempers have got out of control are remembered with awe. The

[1] This description of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region is based on observations made during our several expeditions between 1951 and 1959. Changes in the conditions under which the /Kung live are to be expected, and how these changes will affect the practice of the customs here described we do not know.

[2] Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Band Organization', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

shriek and gurgle. They blow in his ears to open them. They take sweat from their armpits and rub him. Some fall over on to him in trance themselves and are in turn rubbed and cared for by the others. The women must sing and clap ardently while a man is in deep trance. He needs the good medicine of the music to protect him.

The curing dance draws people of a Bushman band together into concerted action as nothing else does. They stamp and clap and sing with such precision that they become like an organic being. In this close configuration—together—they face the gods. They do not plead, as they do in their individual supplications, for the favour of the divine, all-powerful beings, and do not praise them for goodness. Instead, the medicine men, on behalf of the people, releasing themselves from ordinary behaviour by trance and overcoming fear and inaction, throw themselves into combat with the gods and try to force them with hurled sticks and hurled words to take away the evils they might be bringing.

The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a drama, I believe, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in Aristotle's sense. Fear and hostility find outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there is solace and hope.

Résumé

LA RELIGION DES BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

Les Boschimans /Kung de la région de Nyae Nyae dans le sud-ouest de l'Afrique croient qu'il existe deux dieux — le grand créateur, qui habite dans l'est du ciel, où le soleil se lève, et le petit dieu qui est subordonné au grand dieu, et qui habite dans l'ouest du ciel où le soleil se couche.

Le grand dieu possède sept noms divins, que les /Kung ont peur de prononcer, et un seul nom humain. Certains de ces noms (d'après Schapera ce sont *Hishe*, *Hawe* et *Kxo*) indiquent que le concept du grand dieu tire son origine des croyances anciennes soutenues par d'autres Boschimans et par les Hottentots. Ces noms sont associés avec un être suprême bien disposé. Divers groupes de Boschimans croyaient dans un esprit malfaisant, un 'avant-coureur de la mort', *‖Gauwa*. D'après la croyance actuelle des /Kung de la région de Nyae Nyae, le grand dieu a fait du petit dieu son homonyme en lui accordant tous ses noms divins (mais non son nom human), et *‖Gauwa* est un des sept noms divins qui sont attribués aux deux dieux. Le nom humain ≠*Gao!na*, le vieux ≠*Gao*, est celui du protagoniste de plusieurs vieux contes bizarres, un être ayant des pouvoirs surnaturels, mais ressemblant à un homme et soumis à toutes les frustrations humaines. Les /Kung ont amalgamé l'ancien protagoniste et le grand dieu en ce qui concerne le nom, mais ils ont modifié l'image.

Le grand dieu s'est d'abord créé lui-même, et ensuite il a créé le petit dieu. Pour chacun d'eux, il a créé une épouse qui a donné naissance à des enfants. Il a créé la terre et le ciel, la femme et l'homme et il a donné des noms à toutes choses. Il a donné le nom de son épouse, Khwova, à la première femme, et son propre nom ≠*Gao* au premier homme. Le grand dieu et le petit dieu s'intéressent principalement à l'humanité. Ni l'un ni l'autre n'est associé essentiellement avec le bien ou le mal à l'égard de l'homme; tous les deux peuvent apporter de grands biens, tels que la pluie, la nourriture et les enfants, mais aussi la mort, la maladie

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival, for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bushmen cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local groupings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to suggest that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within themselves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves ǂu /ðassi and who live in the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48'30" S, 20°34'36" E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and 9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen-speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is survival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we refer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired, but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets. Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this region as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these; doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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Gathering Mangetti Nuts

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eral large groves of mangetti trees (*Ricinodendron rautanenii* Schinz) in the region, all on great waterless white sand dunes, and one extensive area in which *tsī* grows. *Tsī* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch) is the seed of the vine that runs along on the surface of the ground. Both mangetti nuts and *tsī* are excellent foods, rich in oils and proteins, and so important to the !Kung that they organize their lives to a considerable extent around them.

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Each band, according to !Kung social structure, owns and lives within what we call a territory. The band, through its headman (in a way to be explained later), owns the veldkos and water resources within its territory. The territories are varied in size and shape and sometimes consist of portions that are not even contiguous. The boundaries are vague, for the need to draw fine boundary lines is not great. In the interior of the region, where water is so scant, in roughly 8000 square miles live only 17 bands, comprising 447 persons. The other bands and employed groups live on what we call the periphery of the region. The !Kung say that one cannot eat the ground itself so it does not matter to whom it belongs. It is the patches of veldkos that are clearly and jealously owned, and the territories are shaped in a general way around these patches. The !Kung of the interior have settled themselves in such a way that every band has access to areas of edible roots and to either a mangetti grove or a *tsī* patch. A few bands have both.

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The strong concepts of ownership of veldkos by the band operate almost like a taboo. No external force is established to prevent one band from encroaching on another's veldkos or to prevent individuals from raiding veldkos patches to which they have no right. This is just not done. Fear of fighting is one of the deterrents. The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly

[p. 248]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

in several different bands, and they may choose among them. A band that owned comparatively good resources would tend to attract more members than a band with scant veldkos. This flexibility of residence pattern is one of the reasons that one finds the bands of the interior of the Nyae Nyae region relatively in balance with their resources, and varying in size.

WATER • Two or more bands may share the ownership of a water hole. Water holes keep their own rough population balance because, if water is very scarce, people will go to live elsewhere when they have the possibility of doing so.

In the interior of this region, in roughly 8000 square miles, there are three water holes that can be called really permanent. In the driest years these do not fail. Four others dry up only in years of severe drought. Six more are semipermanent: in a very good year they may yield a little water right through, but in a dry year they are sure to dry up. When the semipermanent water holes go dry, the bands who own them may break up temporarily and the families may go to live with relatives who are at permanent water holes, or they may go as whole bands to another water hole where they have relatives.

Water is not owned as exclusively or as jealously as veldkos. Water seems to belong more to mankind, as the animals do, and the ownership of water holes emphasizes more the managing than the withholding of the water. The headman controls the water. His permission should be asked by travelers or visitors before taking water, "because he knows what he has and what can be done," we were told. We saw small temporary water holes marked with bundles of grass thrust into forked sticks. This was to tell visitors or travelers that the owners of the water hole were in residence, as it were, and were counting on the water. We believe that in these circumstances water would not be taken without permission. Occasions are not likely to arise where permission need be refused. The !Kung know where the others are, or are likely to be, at a given time and know how much water is available. They plan better than to get themselves into desperate situations.

One source of water appears to be owned by individuals. It is the rainwater that collects in hollow mangetti trees. The water in trees is not stolen by others who go to gather in the same mangetti forest. Water, incidentally, is the only beverage of the !Kung in the interior of the region. They have no alcoholic drinks and use no infusions of herbs.

HUNTING AND MEAT SHARING • !Kung hunting regulations do not confine the hunters to territories. The game animals belong to no one until they are shot, and the hunters may follow them anywhere the spoor leads and may cross the territorial boundaries of any band. If hunters have made a kill in the territory of a neighboring band, they would not fail to give a present of

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A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

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digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

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The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

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The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

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The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

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ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

p. 256

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

on the quantity of objects they want to possess. They do not even want one each of the common tools of their lives. They borrow from each other, and there is less to carry.

Instead of acquiring prestige by accumulating possessions, the !Kung seek it in the opposite way. They practice a custom of gift giving to such an extent that their belongings all move in a slow flowing current among them and no one keeps anything of particular value very long. !Kung society requires that gifts be made in return, and the custom serves as a means to mitigate jealousy, to express friendly intent, and to weave people together in mutual obligation.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE FAMILY AND THE DOMESTIC GROUP • The family is the primary and the most cohesive social unit of the !Kung. By far the strongest bonds they feel are those of the nuclear family—the bonds between parent and offspring, between siblings, between spouses. These relationships are the basis of residence; by that I mean that people live together and have membership in their bands and rights to its food and water resources because they are linked to the band by one of these relationships. I believe that, in addition to the structured aspects, there is great emotional cohesiveness in !Kung families and that this is observable in the way families within the band build their fires near each other, come and go together, or, if there should be a quarrel, literally stand by each other, drawing close together.

The !Kung family passes through four phases. In its simplest nuclear form it consists of a man, his wife, and such children as are born to them. First marriages are always with just one wife. A later nuclear phase may be polygynous. When the daughters of a !Kung couple marry, and the daughters' husbands come to live with their brides' parents to give them bride service, the unit becomes an extended family. In a second extended phase, the married sons may have returned from bride service with their wives and offspring. In this phase, the married daughters with their husbands and offspring may stay or they may go to live with their husbands' people.

• The headship of a family is strongly associated with males. A widowed mother is regarded as a dependent, not as a family head. When the old father of an extended family dies, that particular family ceases to be an extended family. Families of siblings may live together in the same band, but no one of them has authority over another unless one of the siblings happens to be headman of the band. If they are no longer involved in bride service themselves, and their offspring are not yet married, these families become independent nuclear families again, to become new, extended families when the offspring marry.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

595 they are jealous of each other, as they so often are, !Kung society demands of them that they preserve a decent semblance of harmony and, by self-control and silence, avoid disturbing other people with jealous wrangling.

582 The band itself, as a structured unit, is not a factor in regulating 621 marriage. Persons may marry either within their bands or outside them if 587 relationships and marriage regulations permit. Neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory, but marriage with a brother's wife or a sister's husband is considered to be good and suitable, particularly as a second marriage, should death or divorce make it possible for these affines to marry again. 582 These relationships are not especially preferred in first marriages.

Marriages are forbidden in !Kung society only on the basis of the incest taboo, which is very strongly felt. It rigorously prohibits the !Kung from marriage with members of the nuclear family. It also extends to step-parents, stepbrothers and stepsisters, stepchildren, and to three additional categories of persons: certain kin, certain affines, and certain name relatives, whose relationships are considered to resemble those of the nuclear family.[8]

582 The !Kung conform strictly to the marriage regulations where they feel 183 the internal sanction strongly, as they do with close kin and affines. But with the more remote relatives, third cousins, and even second cousins, and with name relatives, they deviate without any apparent sense of guilt and without incurring the grave disapproval of society.

587 Widowers may marry again without restriction. A widow is supposed to wait until one rainy season has passed so that "the rain may wash the death away," but often she does not.

586 A couple may divorce without formality. This may be by mutual consent, or one spouse may simply leave the other. No religious or legal dispensation is involved and parental consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties for there is no dowry or bride-[587] price to be resolved. Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way, and they are free to remarry without restrictions. Although the !Kung do not consider divorce reprehensible, they deplore it because it is untoward and can cause trouble. Divorces are not uncommon among young people of about the age at which young people in our society would be getting married, but, once a compatible mate is found, there is a notable stability in the marriages.

837 !Kung society forbids any sexual relations outside marriage, with one exception, called */kamheri*. */Kamheri* means that two men may agree to exchange wives temporarily, provided the wives consent. When deviations from the sexual regulations do occur, the usual form is adultery, since almost all Bushman women are in the married state from early youth. [835] But adultery meets with deterrents in this society. The strongly felt incest taboo prevents extramarital sexual relations as well as marriage with close relatives. Ease of divorce enables persons who really wish to change mates

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

thighs, up the buttocks to the waist, and on the cheeks and forehead. 304
The !Kung say the stripes are made only for beauty" and are in imitation of gemsbok—big, stately gray antelopes with spectacular black markings.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The only social grouping above the family in 621
!Kung society is the autonomous band. A band is a group of families who live together, linked to one another and to the headman by kinship bonds, in a manner that will be illustrated presently. Nuclear families do not live alone among the !Kung. An extended family might do so, if it were a strong unit with enough young hunters and gatherers to sustain it; it would then be a band. Most of the Nyae Nyae bands were composed of several families [162]
and ranged in size from twenty or twenty-five to fifty or sixty members.

Each band belongs to its own territory, or, we can say, owns its territory 621
and the resources within it. Two or more bands may belong to the same 622
territory. The focus of the band's ownership of the territory is the headman, 423
who is called *kxau* (owner). He does not own the resources as private, individual property is owned, to withhold or give as he pleases. Members born to the band have a kind of inalienable right of their own to the resources. The headman personifies those rights and gives them organization and continuity. The continuity is expressed by the attachment of the headmanship to the territory. If a headman leaves the territory to live elsewhere—except temporarily for bride service—he ceases to be headman and the headmanship falls on someone else who remains in the territory.

!Kung society accords to the headman the authority to coordinate the 622
movements of his own people in relation to their consumption of resources, and his chief duty is to plan when and where the band will move. He should protect the resources from encroachment from outsiders.

When the band moves, the headman's position is at the head of the line. He chooses the site for the new werf and has the first choice of a spot for his own fire and scherm. He has no other rewards or prerogatives. He carries his own load and is as thin as the rest.

It is not a headman's duty, as headman, to instigate or organize hunting parties, trading trips, the making of artifacts, or gift giving, nor does he make marriage arrangements. Individuals instigate their own activities. A 622
headman is not in any formalized way a judge of his people, nor must he 627
punish a wrongdoer. He may have great influence, if he is an effective leader, but wrongdoing is judged and controlled by public opinion, usually expressed in talk. Occasionally a person who is wronged seeks to avenge himself by fighting, which is greatly deplored.

If a headman is too young or too old, or lacks personal qualities of 622

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

622 leadership, the people may turn quite informally to some other man for leadership in their daily life—ask him for help and advice, fall in with his plans. Such a leader has no authority and receives no honors or rewards.

Headmanship is inherited by the eldest son from the father. If that son dies or leaves the band, the headmanship passes to the next eldest son.

No strictly formulated rules, insofar as we know, provide for further succession. We have no observations of our own of situations in which a headman had no son.[10]

622 The rule of succession does not provide for a headmanship to pass
●621 collaterally to a headman's younger brother. However, a younger brother
571 may set up a band of his own in the same territory if he does not prefer to live under the headmanship of his older brother or if he does not continue to live with his wife's people. The younger brother has his own rights to the veldkos and water that derive from his father and he can share them with his family and band. Nevertheless, as long as a son of the headman in rightful succession is living in the territory, he has higher authority and is responsible for the overall planning. Should the principal headman's band die out or realign itself, the collateral band led by the younger brother would become the principal one.

621 The bonds that bring the !Kung into membership in bands are the same
622 consanguineous and affinal bonds on which a nuclear family is formed:
602 the bonds of parent-offspring, siblings, and spouses. Everyone who lives in
571 a !Kung band is linked by one of these bonds with the headman, sometimes directly or sometimes in a chainlike manner through one or two other
[162] persons. A description of a typical band will illustrate this point. Band II of Gautscha has forty-one members. The headman, Gao Beard, has two
[592] wives and four young children. With Gao Beard live his younger brother, one of his younger sisters, each with spouse and children, and his elderly, dependent and widowed mother. Gao asked his first wife's father, Old ≠Toma, whom he likes very much, to join his band. Old ≠Toma brought with him into the band his wife, a married son with wife and child, two younger sons, his wife's sister, and her son by a now divorced husband.
[583] He also brought sixteen other persons—Gau and his people. Gau belongs to another band but was at the time living in Band II because he had married, as a second wife, Old ≠Toma's wife's sister and, middle-aged though they are, he was in bride service to her people. After a time Gau can choose whether to stay on in Band II or to go back to the band in which he originated. He said that he thought he would decide to stay with Old ≠Toma and Gao Beard because he likes Old ≠Toma and because Gao Beard has a mangetti grove.

621 People retain throughout their lives their membership in the band
423 in which they were born and their rights to its veldkos and water resources.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

If they leave the band they may return. Affines and the families of affines have equal rights to the resources while they are present but do not retain them if they leave.

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS • In the many strange old tales of the !Kung appears a protagonist named ǂ*Gaoǃna*—Old ǂGao. He had supernatural powers, but he looked like a man and lived on earth. Like mankind, he was subject to passion, hunger, wrongdoing, failure, frustration, and humiliation, but men imagine his feelings in larger scale and as more grotesque than their own. Themes of incest, hunger, and cannibalism run through the tales. The !Kung claim that this old protagonist and the great god of their present belief are one and the same: they have the same names, but if the present great god is the old ǂ*Gaoǃna*, he is mightily changed.

The !Kung now believe that there are two gods. The great god lives in the eastern sky where the sun rises, the lesser, in the western sky where the sun sets. The great god is the creator of all things. He created himself and named himself. He then created the lesser god and a wife for each of them. The wives bore them children. The great god gave names to all these beings. Then he created the earth and the water holes, the sky and the rain, the sun and the wind, the things that grow on the earth, and the animals with their stripes and colors, and he gave them names. He created a woman and then a man. He commanded the man and the woman and the animals to breathe, for without breathing they would not live. From the beginning he created men and women to be mortal. When mortals die he takes their spirits to the place where he lives in the eastern sky, where there is a certain tree that has no name. He hangs the spirits in the tree, makes a medicine smoke in a pot beneath them, and transmutes them into the ǁ*gauwasi*, the spirits of the dead, who live in the sky with him and are his servants. He has a medicine with which he renews himself, the ǁ*gauwasi*, and the other heavenly beings and thus keeps them immortal.

The great god gave men bows and arrows and poison and digging sticks and taught them how to shoot animals and dig for food. Everything men know he taught them. Having created all things, the great god is the owner and the master of all things and commands their movements.

To "praise" himself, the !Kung believe, the great god gave himself seven divine names and one human name. The divine names are *Hishe, Huwe, Kxo, !Gara, Gani ga,* ǂ*Gaishi* ǂ*gai* and ǁ*Gauwa*. The human name is ǂ*Gaoǃna*, the one he shares with the old protagonist.

Although there is not an absolute taboo upon saying the names of the

121 (George Silberbauer) was already conducting research among the Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

After DeVore's return to Harvard in September, the author surveyed the Ngamiland situation and found that the Bushman population in the northwestern sector satisfied our research requirements.

161 312 621 224 222 648 In October, 1963, there were about 430 Bushmen living at nine waterholes in the !Kangwa administrative district. Over 70% of these people were organized into bands and depended on hunting and gathering for their subsistence. Although some 340 Bantu lived in the district they had not established a lord-client relationship over the Bushmen. This feudal type of social system exists elsewhere in the Kalahari but not in 114 the !Kangwa district. The author was the first white person to live in the district. The Marshall expeditions had touched the western edge of the district but had centered their research at /Gautscha, a camp about 40 miles west of our area.

The main field station was set up at Dobe, a small waterhole in Bechuanaland, two miles east of the Bechuanaland - South West Africa border. The author conducted research here for twelve months, except for intervals of work elsewhere in the Kalahari and study periods in Livingstone, Johannesburg, Windhoek and Capetown.

In October, 1964, Irven and Nancy DeVore joined the author

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Kuangari	in South West Africa
Bunja	
Sambiu	
Djiriku	
Mbukushu	in South West Africa and B. P.
Bayei	in B. P.
Batawana	
Herero	

[621] These !Kung may live in independent villages near a [224] Bantu kraal and devote much of their time to hunting and [222] gathering, or they may be incorporated into the compounds of [464] their protectors and work as domestic servants and farm hands. However, all of these Bantu-associated !Kung are in contact 131 with groups of more independent !Kung living inland. Ties 184 of real and fictive kinship and marriage link the river 602 582 dwelling !Kung with the !Kung of the dry interior. The location of these non-!Kung peoples is shown in Map 6, p. 34.

131 Map 7 illustrates how the European and Bantu-associated !Kung form a ring of population around the peripheries of the northwest Kalahari. These settled areas enclose an interior of about 25,000 square miles, one third of which is in Bechuanaland and two thirds in South West Africa. Most of

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563 The waterholes and their respective Bushman and Bantu populations are listed in Table 2.

!Kung group structure

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166 The definition of the !Kung living arrangements presented the most difficult problem of the field study. The !Kung were found to be living most frequently in camps that numbered from ten to thirty individuals. But the composition of these camps changed from month to month and from day to day.

The task of defining the stable membership units was complicated by the following factors:

1. the frequent shifts of individuals and families from one camp to another,
[574] 2. the high incidence of visiting between camps,
3. the presence of long-term visitors from outside the Dobe area,
4. the Dobe area residents who were living elsewhere on extended visits, and
[563] 5. the intermarriage and co-residence of Bushmen with Bantu.

These complications are in addition to the routine changes in group structure brought about by births, deaths, post-marital residence, and the seasonal subsistence cycle.

It became evident that flexibility is the basic premise
[121] of !Kung group structure. It would therefore be inappropriate to try to impose a formal model of organization on the data,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

621
166 such as the patrilineal band or composite band models current
121 in the literature (Steward 1955, Sahlins 1959, Service 1962).

121 An account of the situation at one waterhole will serve
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312 to illustrate some of the dynamic processes at work in !Kung
621 group structure. At Dobe in October, 1963, there were two
312 camps, one with 28 members, the other with ten members. In
166
162 December, 18 members of the larger camp left on an extended
161 visit to Tsumkwe and the remaining ten people made a joint camp with the smaller group to form a camp of twenty people. In January, 1964, these two segments split up and abandoned Dobe altogether. The waterhole remained unoccupied until May, 1964, when the two segments recombined and were joined by 22 other people, who came in from five other camps. This group of 42 people wintered at Dobe in one camp. Then, in August the camp split up into a camp of twelve and a camp of 24. Six of the 22 people who had wintered at Dobe returned to other camps while 16 of these people remained at Dobe. The two Dobe camps (of twelve and 24) remained approximately stable for the remainder of the study (i.e. until January, 1965).

621 Thus at different times of the year the population of
312 Dobe was counted as follows:
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October 1963	38 people in 2 camps
December 1963	20 people in 1 camp
Jan.-April 1964	nil.
May 1964	42 people in 1 camp
Aug. 1964 to Jan. 1965	36 people in 2 camps

621 312 Similar variations in group structure were observed at all the waterholes of the Dobe area. However, despite these shifts in the size and composition of camps there were two lines of evidence that indicated stability. First, there was a generally acknowledged nucleus of permanent territorial residents at each waterhole. Second, when camps split up they did so consistently along the same lines of fission. The presence of these two regularities provides a basis for a preliminary account of the living arrangements of !Kung Bushmen. The complete documentation and analysis of group structure will be presented in a later paper.

[125] The starting point for this account is a single complete census of the Dobe area made by the author in November, 1964. This was a good time for a census because it is the period of [221] the year when the camps are most stable. It was the end of the dry season when most of the Bushmen were restricted to their permanent waterholes.

621 161 162 This census showed a total population of 433 Bushmen divided among 35 living units. This figure of 433 includes ten individuals who died in the year preceding the census, and 32 others who were away from the area at the time of the census, so that the total number of Bushmen who were actually physically present in the area in November, 1964, was 391. The majority of the people (311 individuals, 72% of the total) were living in 15 independent hunting and gathering bands.

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161 The remaining 122 individuals were living with the Bantu. The
162 diet of these latter people consisted of a combination of
[262] Bushmen wild foods and the products of the Bantu cattle. The complete census of the 35 living units is shown in Table 3.

The 15 bands ranged in size from nine to 52 individuals. There were five small bands (of 9, 12, 12, 12, and 13 members), nine bands of intermediate size (of 17, 19, 19, 21, 22, 22, 24, 27, and 30), and one large band with 52 members. The average band had 20.7 members and the median band had 19 members. The presence of twin modes in band size (at 12 and 22 members respectively) is perhaps a function of the domestic cycle[1] but its significance remains to be explained.

621 Each of the bands has a nucleus of individuals who have a territorial claim to the land they occupy and who tend to spend the greater part of the year in residence in their territory. These core individuals are usually old people whose descendents and their spouses make up the bulk of the
[602] band's membership. Each of the larger bands has among its members one or more families who are collaterally or affinally related to the core individuals. These collaterals and affines do not express as strong a territorial claim to the band's land as do the core individuals and they tend to move around more frequently than do the core individuals. As

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[1] I am indebted to Adam Kuper for this suggestion (personal communication).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 48]

TABLE 3

621 Census Breakdown of the 433 Dobe Area Bushmen, by Sex, Age,
161 and Living Unit Note: Independent Bands are Marked (B).
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No.	Place	Name	Adults M	Adults F	Children M	Children F	TOTAL M	TOTAL F	T
1.	Dobe(B)	n/eysi	5	7	0	0	5	7	12
2.	Dobe(B)	/oma/gwe	7	6	5	6	12	12	24
3.	!xabe	Enamiti	3	5	0	0	3	5	8
4.	Mahopa	Enamoharadi	5	10	5	6	10	16	26
5.	Mahopa	Rotsa	3	5	0	1	3	6	9
6.	Mahopa	Kathikona	1	0	0	0	1	-	1
7.	Mahopa	Vethepa	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
8.	Mahopa	Yona	2	2	1	1	3	3	6
9.	!angwa	Isak	4	5	1	3	5	8	13
10.	!angwa(B)	bo	7	7	3	5	10	12	22
11.	!angwa	Noiye	1	2	1	-	2	2	4
12.	!angwa	Kangwadyata	2	1	1	1	3	2	5
13.	!angwa	Kamburungu	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
14.	!angwa	Vetetha	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
15.	Bate(B)	!xoma	7	8	3	3	10	11	21
16.	Bate	Liceku	5	5	1	1	6	6	12
17.	Bate	Kaku·una	2	2	1	1	3	3	6
18.	Bate	Kathedi (Mahura)	2	2	1	1	3	3	6
19.	!ubi(B)	Kamburu	11	20	13	8	24	28	52
20.	!goše(B)	/ise	7	9	1	5	8	14	22
21.	!goše(B)	/i!ay	6	5	1	-	7	5	12
22.	!goše(B)	bo	4	7	3	5	7	12	19
23.	!goše	IBatha	1	1	2	1	3	2	5
24.	!goše	Tubexo	1	1	2	-	3	1	4
25.	Nokaneng(B)	Kau/dwa	5	6	-	2	5	8	13
26.	!qausa(B)	n/isa	5	5	6	3	11	8	19
27.	/ai/ai(B)	//aun!a	3	5	1	3	4	8	12
28.	/ai/ai(B)	//aihan!a	2	3	1	3	3	6	9
29.	/ai/ai	Halingisi	3	5	1	1	4	6	10
30.	/ai/ai(B)	/oma!xwa	11	12	4	3	15	15	30
31.	/ai/ai(B)	!Kum	4	6	2	5	6	11	17
32.	/ai/ai(B)	/omažho	8	9	4	6	12	15	27
33.	/ai/ai	dumn!a	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
34.	/ai/ai	Kamakau	1	1	-	-	1	1	2
35.	/ai/ai	Kumemehe	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
Totals			131	164	64	74	195	238	433

621 territoriality and band membership are closely linked they will be discussed together in Chapter VII.

621 312 16 A note on the history of each waterhole during the period 1963-64 will serve to illustrate some dynamic features of group structure.

1. !goše - There were three bands living at this waterhole at the time of the census, numbering 12, 19, and 22 individuals, respectively. These three bands had lived in one large camp from 1961-64. In mid-1964, they split into four bands. One group of 13 went to Nokaneng on an extended visit. The other three bands, totalling 53 people, remained at !gose. The territorial nucleus of the three bands that remained consisted of the descendents of one very old woman and her three nephews.

2. !anqwa - One band of 22 individuals was living here. The nucleus of this group included again a very old woman, her daughter and her son. Most of the members of the group were siblings of the daughter's husband. This band made a common camp with the members of the Batawana headman's staff. In July, 1964, they set up an independent camp.

3. Bate - One band of 21 members was living here. The nucleus consisted of two old women who were sisters and the two married offspring of these sisters. The remainder of the band consisted of affines of the sisters' children. In

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late 1964, this entire band left Bate and shifted to !Kabe, a waterhole about seven miles away.

4. Mahopa - In 1964, there were no bands at this waterhole although some 43 Bushmen lived here in Bantu villages.

5. !Kabe - No band had lived here for several years until the group arrived from Bate.

6. !ubi - One band of 52 members was living here. The nucleus consisted of an old man and his two sisters. The old man and 31 other members of this band alternate yearly between Tsumkwe, South West Africa, and !ubi, Bechuanaland. They appeared to be in the process of shifting permanently out of the Dobe area. The two sisters and 18 other people continued to live at !ubi.

7. /ai/ai - In November, 1964, there were five bands here with 9, 12, 17, 27, and 30 members, respectively. Each band has a nucleus of an old man or woman and their married offspring. In October, 1963, most of these people were living in one large camp of 83 members. In 1964, this camp broke up into six smaller groups. One group went south to /gam and five groups remained. In addition, a number of people came from /gam to live at /ai/ai, thus producing the present situation of five camps totalling 95 individuals.

8. Dobe - There were two bands here of 12 and 24 people, respectively. The territorial nucleus consisted of

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16 an old man and his sister. When the two Dobe groups divided, the old man and his two married children went one way and the old woman and her three sons went the other.

The remaining two bands were living outside of the Dobe area at the time of the census. One of them was the band of 13 from !goše that had gone to Nokaneng. The other was a group of 19 individuals who came from South West Africa to spend the summer of 1963-64 in the Dobe area and had returned to Tsumkwe in May, 1964.

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166 These brief notes indicate the extent to which bands coalesce and split, change waterholes and move in and out of the Dobe area. It does not take into account the corresponding
621 shifts made by individuals and families. In light of the above it is doubtful whether the use of the term "band" is legitimate in the context of Bushman group dynamics. The "band" may turn out to be an artifact of the observer's sampling technique and his theoretical preconceptions (see Chapter VII). Among the !Kung, for example, it appears that the cohesive social units are the extended families that make up the larger aggregations that have been called bands. This does not imply that the !Kung have what Steward (1955) called a "family level of organization" since the !Kung consistently live in aggregations of two to ten or more families. Until a complete analysis of the data is carried out, it would

621 seem more appropriate to use the non-committal term "camp" and discard the term "band".[1]

563 Apart from the fifteen independent camps, there were 122
162 !Kung Bushmen living with the Bantu. Thirteen Bush women were married to Bantu men.[2] Five of these women had borne a total of nine children who were being raised as members of their fathers' tribes and are therefore not enumerated in the Bushman census. Some of the women had brought members of their families to live at their husbands' kraals. Twenty-eight of the !Kung Bushmen were living with their Bantu in-laws. In all, the wives of Bantu and their kinsmen account for 39 of the 122 !Kung living with Bantu. There were no cases of a Bantu girl marrying a !Kung man.

648 Some families of Bushmen live with and work for Bantu
464 families. Five young married men were working as cattle
233 herders. They brought their wives and children to live with them. In addition, seven unmarried !Kung boys were working on cattle and were living in the compounds of their employers. Several old couples and a widower, who were temporarily not

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[1]This follows the lead of James Woodburn, who in his analysis of Hadza group structure (1964) discards the term "band".

[2]One of the thirteen had actually married a N/hai Bushman (the only non-!Kung Bushman in the Dobe area). This man was culturally identified with the Bantu.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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Chapter IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Tribe and Hunting Band

All the Bushmen in their native condition lead a nomadic hunting and collecting life, roaming about in search of the game and wild vegetable foods upon which they depend for their existence. The conditions of their subsistence necessarily prevent them from banding together permanently in any considerable numbers. Wherever they still retain to any marked degree their original mode of life and organization they are found scattered over the land in small separate communities.[1] Each such community will be spoken of here as a hunting band. The members of a band share a common life, they see one another constantly, they co-operate in many ways, and they are all as a rule friendly and on fairly intimate terms. Each band also has occasional relations with other neighbouring bands, through intermarriage and trade, and visitors may pass from one to another. On the other hand, there are often quarrels between neighbouring bands, which may result in a prolonged state of feud and even lead directly to warfare.

The various bands among the Heikum are generally referred to among each other by a name which indicates either the locality in which they live, or describes some physical or other characteristic of the band itself or of its locality. The *se-khoin*, for example, are the people of the *seb* or plain; the */gom-khoin* the people who eat the

[1] The social organization of the Bushmen is one of the least-known aspects of their culture, and sadly needs careful and detailed investigation. The most reliable sources of information refer almost exclusively to the North-Western tribes: Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 1907; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910); (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.* 21 (1927); *idem*, *The Naron*, 1928; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928); L. Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. SW. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6); *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, 1928. The relevant literature on the other tribes is for the most part fragmentary, although some valuable data on the Namib Bushmen are given by Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), and by Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910). Where no special reference is made to any particular tribe the analysis given above must therefore be regarded as applying especially to the North-Western tribes, who are also the only Bushmen still leading a fairly independent life.

621 /gom or omungete nut; and the *xom-khoin* the people who *xom* or
101 scrape together, the name indicating their method of collecting salt on the Etosha Pan, along whose southern border they live.[1] How the bands are named in the other tribes is not clearly stated. In the
[114] literature they are spoken of as a rule in terms of the locality they inhabit, but no indication is given whether this is also the name by which they call themselves and are known to their neighbours.

619 These hunting bands are grouped into what are here called "tribes". A
101 tribe consists of a number of neighbouring bands, the members of which all speak what they themselves regard as one language. Each tribe has its own distinctive name. In the Southern and Central linguistic groups this usually ends in the word */ke* or *kwe* respectively, i.e. "people"; but in most cases the meaning of the name itself has not been recorded or can no longer be determined. The few tribal names which can be interpreted seem to refer to some general characteristic of the people themselves or of the country which they inhabit. The *//ŋ /ke*, for example, are the "home people"; the */tannekwe* the "river people"; the *Hiechware* the "people of the open country", and the */o /kŭ* the "forest people", while the */kŭ* (*Kung*) are simply "people", or, as they would interpret the name "Bushmen". The *Hei-//om*, again, derive their name from the
[177] Hottentot words *heis*, tree or bush, and *//om*, to sleep, and are therefore the "tree-sleeping people", i.e. those who sleep under trees; while the term *Naron*, by which the *//aikwe* now sometimes speak of themselves, appears to have been applied to them originally by the Auen and to mean "people who are insignificant".

619 The tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group. It has no social
[197] solidarity, and is of very little, if any, importance in regulating social life. There appears to be no tribal organization among the Bushmen, nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all the members of the tribe, nor is collective action ever taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. The tribe in fact is merely a loose aggregate of independent hunting bands which have a common language and name.

621 The band, and not the tribe, is the real political body among the Bushmen. Each band is autonomous, leading its own life independently of the others. Its affairs are as a rule regulated by the
[623] skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men in general. In
[622] the North-Western tribes, however, each band has also a chief, whose

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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office is hereditary. His authority is very slight, and apparently exercised mainly in regulating the movements of the people from place to place, and in leading in war.

Each band also acts as a unit in its relations with other bands of the same or of neighbouring tribes, and in such relations it is collectively responsible for the actions of any of its members. When differences arise they are confined to the bands concerned, and not participated in by the rest of the tribe. Occasionally, it is true, a weak band may seek and obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour, but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature.[1]

The band is also the land-owning group. Each band possesses its own hunting territory, to which it is restricted, and exercises authority over and specific rights within this territory only.[2] The members of the band roam about freely all over their own land, but do not trespass on their neighbours' territory, although single persons and small parties may occasionally pay short visits across the border, mostly for trading purposes. As a result of this territorial segregation it may often happen that the more widely separated bands of a tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct contact with each other.

There are no special boundary marks between the areas occupied by different hunting bands. The limits of each area are as a rule defined by various natural landmarks, such as sand dunes, koppies, river-beds, vleis, springs, or even trees. These are well known to the people themselves and carefully observed. In some cases the areas of different bands are separated by neutral zones, formed by belts of trees, open flats, watercourses, etc. Nobody will venture into these except during the course of a visit. In particular, however, each hunting territory is defined by the waterholes in it. These constitute the real property of the band. The encampments are always erected near them, all the game on the land around them or drinking at the water may be hunted only by members of the band, and similarly only they may gather "veldkos" (wild vegetable foods) in the vicinity. The infringement of territorial rights in this respect is one of the main causes of dispute between neighbouring bands, and almost invariably leads to bloodshed.

[1] The relations between different bands are discussed more fully below in Chapter VI, s.v. "Relations with Other Bands"; vide p. 155

[2] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 156; Passarge, op. cit., 31–2; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 4; Fourie, "The Bushmen," 85; Lebzelter "Bei den |Kun-Buschleuten," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, lix (1928–9), SitzBer. (12).

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114 131 621 There is unfortunately no reliable information available as to the extent of territory occupied by the band. The only writer to touch on this question is Seiner, who estimates that in the Grootfontein district in the north-east of South-West Africa the average hunting territory covers about 700 sq. km.[1] This figure, however, cannot be regarded even as approximate, for it is based on what is almost certainly an excessive estimate of the total Bushman population in that district.

Size of the Band

162 621 The number of people who make up a band varies from tribe to tribe, and even within the tribe itself, although it is never considerable. Some of the older writers on the Cape Bushmen speak of bands containing from one hundred to one hundred and fifty persons,[2] but groups much smaller in size are also mentioned.[3] Certainly in more recent times the number of families living together seldom exceeded three or four.[4] The remnants of the Namib Bushmen now also live in very small groups of only a few persons,[5] and so do the Hiechware in the Eastern Kalahari, where a band rarely has more than about twenty members.[6] Elsewhere Dornan states that he has seldom seen more than six or seven families together at a time, all told about thirty persons, and this was in a camp at permanent water.[7] The !O Kung in Angola are also found living together in very small bands. The largest group met by Miss Bleek consisted of sixteen men and fifteen women; everywhere else little parties were seen of from two to six men, with their wives and families.[8]

621 648 [177] In considering these figures it must be remembered that the Cape Bushmen were already being persecuted and dispersed, and their organization disintegrated, by their more powerful neighbours at the time when they came under observation, while the Namib Bushmen are now almost extinct and live in very unfavourable country. Whether they were formerly banded together in larger numbers there is no means of telling. The Hiechware and the !O Kung, again,

[1] Seiner, loc. cit.
[2] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 53.
[3] Burchell, op. cit., i, 456; Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 48; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 144.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii.
[5] Trenk, op. cit., 166; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Range, *Landeskunde . . . des Namalandes*, 73.
[6] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 90.
[7] Ibid., 130.
[8] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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are the serfs of the interdwelling Bantu, and the conditions under which they live do not, therefore, permit of their association in large groups.

In the tribes to the north-west who still retain to some extent their own mode of life and organization the communities are on the whole somewhat larger, although the numbers fluctuate a good deal. In the Kaukauveld Passarge frequently saw bands of up to thirty persons, and in the Mahuraveld of between twenty and twenty-five persons.[1] Among the Naron, again, Miss Bleek speaks of a camp containing from sixty to eighty persons,[2] while among the Auen, according to Kaufmann, up to thirty families, i.e. about one hundred persons, may be found camping together.[3] Both writers agree, however, in stating that the numbers may at times be considerably less. Müller visited eight camps of Bushmen in the Kaukauveld, and the figures given by him show that in six of them the population ranged between thirty and seventy, while the remaining two had one hundred and fifty and two hundred inhabitants respectively.[4] Seiner, again, states that the bands of the Kung average fifty persons, although he mentions two encampments in the vicinity of Karakuwisa which were considerably larger[5]; while among the Tannekwe he found five encampments of Bugakwe, whose population he estimates altogether as two hundred and twenty, eight of Garikwe containing all told about four hundred and thirty persons, and one of Gokwe with ninety.[6]

Not too much weight can be laid on the actual figures given, as for the most part they are based on what are obviously rough estimates, not accurate observations. There seems little doubt, however, that among the North-Western tribes the bands are on the whole more considerable than in any of the other tribes, and the average given by von François[7] of between fifty to sixty persons to a band may be taken as fairly representative, although as we have seen the numbers fluctuate a good deal.

Part of the difficulty in obtaining accurate information about the size of the band lies in the fact that the families composing it are not always found living together in one encampment. Within the

[1] *Die Buschmänner*, 9, 10. [2] *The Naron*, 4. [3] "Die Auin," 136.
[4] "Erkundungsritt in das Kaukauveld," 530. The actual figures are: 150, 40, 70, 70, 200, 30, 50, and 30.
[5] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303, 302.
[6] "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 104.
[7] *Nama und Damara*, 234.

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166 territory occupied by the band its members roam about freely in
361 search of food, and family groups often separate from the main body
621 to wander about on their own account for a while. Of the Naron, for example, Miss Bleek writes that she has "sometimes seen three or four huts together, sometimes twenty, with from sixty to eighty inhabitants. Every few weeks a new hut appears, or a vacant space shows where one has gone"; and she adds that as the village is such a fluctuating quantity it is difficult to estimate the numbers of a band or a tribe.[1] Indeed it seems to be a feature in the life of some of the Northern tribes that during the dry season the families in the band scatter about separately, to come together again only in the rainy
[221] season, when there is an ample supply of water and "veldkos". Thus among the Auen only one or two families may be found living together in the dry season, while towards the end of and shortly after the rainy season, when the edible plants of the veld are abundant, up to thirty families may join together.[2] It is thus by no means unusual to find several small encampments of members of the same band scattered about over its hunting territory, a fact which may easily mislead casual observers with regard to its numbers.

On the other hand, it also appears that at times members of several
361 different bands may come together for a while. Passarge mentions
619 that in 1897, during an outbreak of rinderpest when cattle were
621 dying in great numbers in the Ghansiveld, Bushmen were drawn together from all parts of the vicinity by the abundance of animal food thus provided. At one spot he saw between one and two hundred of them, at another about one hundred, and these included both Auen and Naron.[3] In the Kwebe Hills, again, his camp was passed by about one hundred men returning to the Hainaveld from the sandveld. Together with their women and children this group must therefore have numbered from three to four hundred.[4] It is almost certain that these people too must have belonged to different bands and had only come together temporarily, but this is not definitely stated by Passarge. Kaufmann, again, mentions a camp of Auen at Sidonitsaub which in April, 1908, contained about four hundred men, or with women and children about one thousand persons
[622] all told. That these belonged to a number of different bands was

[1] *The Naron*, 4.

[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 136, 138; cf. Passarge, op. cit., 42; Vialls, "Kalahari Masarwas," 30.

[3] Op. cit., 7, 8.

[4] Op. cit., 10.

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obvious from the fact that although several chiefs were present, there was no common supreme chief.[1] Such gatherings are only temporary in nature, and produced by some special circumstance. They cannot therefore be regarded as indicative of the normal groupings of the Bushmen.

Social Structure of the Band

Within the band the only division is into families. The family among the Bushmen consists of a man and his wife or wives, together with their dependent children. It is a unit of outstanding importance in their social and economic life. The members of a family usually live together in one hut; the children until they are mature remain under the direct control of their parents, are nourished and are educated by them; husband and wife jointly contribute to the maintenance of their household, and the domestic tasks and industries are apportioned between them according to fixed custom. The family, moreover, has much freedom of movement, and, as already mentioned, single families will often roam about separately for a while within the territory of their band.

The relationship between the different families constituting a band is seldom defined clearly by the various observers. In particular the information available about the kinship organization of the Bushmen is very inadequate. Miss Bleek has recently published lists of relationship terms for each of the three main linguistic groups defined by her.[2] From these it appears that among all the Bushmen there are, in addition to various descriptive terms of relationship, also certain terms applied not to individuals but to whole groups of different relatives, while still others are used reciprocally between people standing in a particular relationship to each other. Relationship terms of the last two types, when found in other societies, are usually indicative of a definite organization of the community on the basis of kinship; and it is probable therefore that some such organization exists among the Bushmen as well. Unfortunately the lists given by Miss Bleek appear to be drawn from vocabulary sources rather than from an actual study of kinship itself, and cannot therefore be used with any degree of confidence. In any case they throw

[1] Op. cit., 138, 155. It should be mentioned here that the figures given by Kaufmann are, as a rule, far in excess of those given by other writers of about the same time and on the same district (e.g. Müller, German official estimate), and cannot therefore be accepted without question.

[2] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1924), 57–70.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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114 but little light on the social organization of the people, since the 602 information given about the rights and duties regulating the conduct towards one another of people related either by consanguinity or through marriage is somewhat meagre. But they suggest at least that there is much in the social life of the Bushmen which could be revealed by a careful study of the usages connected with kinship.

There is some evidence, however, to show that among the Cape 621 and Namib Bushmen, who as we have seen live in very small groups, the members of such a group are as a rule all related either by consanguinity or through marriage. Of the Cape Bushmen, for example, Miss Bleek says elsewhere: "They live in small family groups, and have no chiefs. . . . Three or four huts stand together. In one is the father, in others his married children. At most eight or ten huts of connections were dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, but this is an institution of later days . . . (at marriage) [591] sometimes the young couple build their hut near the bridegroom's father, sometimes near the bride's. They seem to keep the family groups fairly even."[1] The accounts given by Trenk and especially [114] by Seydel of the social structure of the band among the Namib Bushmen are not nearly so definite, but on the whole seem to indicate a similar principle of grouping.[2]

This is also found among the !O Kung of Angola, where again the local groups are very small. The details given by Miss Bleek bring out very clearly the structure of these groups[3]: "The families living together are nearly always related; in two cases the men were brothers-in-law, in the first the sister of one man was the wife of the other, in the second the wives were half-sisters. A cousin of the wives and an aunt resided with them. At another place I found a father with his second wife and small children, a grown-up son with wife and children, and a grown-up daughter whose husband was temporarily absent. The next lot were uncle and nephews, then a mother with married daughter, with a nephew and step-son of the mother's. The last lot encountered, the horde on the Mushumbo, consisted of an old man with two sons, several grandsons both in the male and female line, a son-in-law and nephews and great-nephews, mostly brother's descendants. He introduced himself as the 'father' [888] of them all. Chiefs are non-existent, but deference is paid to the

[1] *The Mantis and his Friends*, pp. viii, ix.
[2] Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," 168, 170; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.
[3] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

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patriarch of any small group, though his authority is very limited." 621
This latter observation is also made by Seydel of the Namib Bushmen. [888]

The bands of these Bushmen may therefore be regarded as consisting of small groups of families all related by consanguinity or through marriage. Membership of the group is apparently not based on descent traced exclusively through either the male or the female line, since both married sons and married daughters with their spouses and children may belong to the same group. There is no definite statement as to whether marriage between members of the same 582
group is permitted or not. Generally it would seem that a wife is sought outside the group. Among the Cape Bushmen the only girl a man may not marry is his own sister. Marriage with first cousins (both ortho-cousins and cross-cousins) is sometimes found, but more often marriage takes place with "someone else", to quote Miss Bleek's words.[1] The same applies to the Namib Bushmen,[2] and similarly, among the !O Kung, "some of the married couples we met were cousins, but the majority were unrelated, as far as they knew. Some young married people stay with the man's family, others with the [591]
woman's."[3]

Among the North-Western Bushmen the bands, which here are 621
proportionately much larger, definitely tend to be exogamous. Fourie 184
says of the Heikum: "Marriage within the group is forbidden and 582
is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. [591]
As a rule men do not go far for wives, and intermarriage takes place [835]
between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women."[4] Among the Auen the only absolute prohibition on marriage is said to be between brother and sister, parent and child, but as a rule marriage does not take place between close relatives, and if possible also not between members of the same band. Wives are procured from a distance; often even [619]
from other tribes.[5] The Kung also marry outside their own band[6];

[1] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 59.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112.
[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 92.
[4] Trenk, op. cit., 168.
[5] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 156: "Die eigene Schwester darf nicht geheiratet werden, ebenso natürlich nicht Mutter und Tochter. Andere Verwandtschaft bilden kein absolutes Hindernis. Es ist aber die Regel, dass nicht innerhalb der eigenen Familie, auch möglichst nicht innerhalb der eigenen Horde geheiratet wird. Frauen werden mit Vorliebe weit hergeholt, oft von Stämmen anderer Sprache."
[6] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910), 8.

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while of the Aikwe (Naron) Passarge says that a man wishing to marry must select his bride from another band, since marriage within the band is not permitted.[1] A few cases were found by Miss Bleek among the Naron at Sandfontein in which both husband and wife were from one village. The fact, however, that such marriages were regarded by the people as being against the general rule indicates that here, too, the tendency is to insist on marriage outside the band.[2]

After marriage the wife generally goes to live with her husband's people, although the young couple may remain for some time with the wife's parents before finally settling at the husband's home.[3] As a rule, therefore, marriage is patrilocal. Among the Naron, however, this rule is not always strictly observed, although it is recognized. "Women are said to leave their own home on marriage, and to be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to return to her parent's home and stay there until the first child is about a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice. Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people, but not always. In fact the Naron all say that a man must settle at his father's place, though they do not always do so."[4] Passarge indeed, goes so far as to assert of this tribe that the man definitely joins the family of his wife, and becomes a member of their band[5]—a fact which he interprets elsewhere as denoting that the Bushmen are a matrilineal people.[6] It is far more probable, however, that he was misled by the custom of temporary matrilocal marriage than that the condition he describes is the normal rule. There is no other evidence to support his statement that the Bushmen have matrilineal institutions.

In fact the prevailing rule in these tribes that marriage should be exogamous and patrilocal suggests rather the possibility that the families constituting the band may be related to one another in the male line. The only definite statement to this effect is about the Heikum, of whom we are told by Fourie that a band consists of the

[1] Op. cit., 105 [2] *The Naron*, 34.
[3] Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Vedder, loc. cit.; Fourie, op. cit., 93; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," (14).
[4] D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66; cf. *idem*, *The Naron*, 34.
[5] Op. cit., 106: "Der Mann schliesst sich der Familie seiner Frau an und wird ein Mitglied der anderen Sippe."
[6] *Südafrika*, p. 252: "Jeder Stamm setzt sich aus Sippen zusammen, die bis zum heutigen Tage die matriarchalische Organisation beibehalten haben. Das geht daraus hervor, dass der Mann bei der Heirat zu der Horde der Frau übergeht."

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male relatives of the chief with their wives and families.[1] The relationship to one another of the families in the bands of the other North-Western tribes is not indicated by our authorities. It is reasonable, however, to expect that most of them at least will be similarly connected, since as a rule married sons with their wives and children will remain together in the same band as their father, while married daughters will leave it to join the bands of their husbands. Moreover, in case of divorce the children remain with their father, and although unweaned children must go with their mother, they can be claimed later by him if he likes.[2]

Dornan says that "the Bushmen of the Kalahari are divided into many small clans",[3] but the term "clan", as used by him, applies sometimes to what has here been called a tribe, and sometimes to a hunting band. He speaks also of exogamous "totemic families" and "totemic clans" among the Hiechware and adjoining tribes, but admits that here the occurrence of this "totemism" is the result of Bantu influence.[4] There is no evidence yet that definitely goes to show the existence of totemism among any of the other Bushman peoples.

Nor, as far as can be seen at present, is there any real clan organization among the Bushmen.[5] The bands of the Cape and Namib Bushmen and of the !O Kung are certainly not clans, while the little we know of the social structure of the band among the North-Western Bushmen does not in itself justify our regarding them as such. There is also nothing at all to indicate the existence of a clan organization cutting across the system of grouping into hunting bands.

It must again be emphasized, however, that our knowledge of the social organization of the Bushmen is fragmentary, and that there are many questions relating to the structure of the band about which no adequate information is available. We are nowhere told clearly, for instance, how membership of the band is determined among the North-Western Bushmen.[6] In general it would seem that children

[1] Op. cit., 86. [2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 34; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 67. [4] Op. cit., 161; cf. 68, 128.
[5] The *clan* is commonly defined as "an exogamous, unilateral group of persons all the members of which are held to be related to one another and bound together by a common tie. This tie may be a belief in common descent from some ancestor, real or mythical, it may be the common possession of a totem, or the common habitation of a village or district" (*Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 5th ed., p. 55). A patrilineal clan is one of which membership is determined by descent traced through the male line, i.e. a person belongs to the clan of his father and his clansmen are related to him primarily through his father. A matrilineal clan is one in which descent is similarly traced through the mother.
[6] Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung (op. cit.), says curtly (p. 114) that a boy belongs to the family of his father, a girl to that of her mother ("Die Knaben gehören zur Sippe des Vaters, die Mädchen zu der der Mutter"). This statement is at variance with all so far known about the Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed before it can be accepted as accurate.

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611 belong to the band of which their father is a member. But, as already
621 mentioned, there are certain cases among the Naron where both married sons and married daughters with their respective spouses and children are found living in the same band. It would throw much light on the structure of the band if we could know whether all these children are regarded as members of the band in which their parents are living, or whether some distinction is made between the children of the married sons on the one hand and those of the married daughters on the other. Without further research in the field, however, no definite statement can be made on this crucial point. There is also nothing to indicate whether people who are related or claim to be related in the male line, or again those who are related or claim to be related in the female line, are specially bound together by ties of a ceremonial, legal or economic nature. Whether further research, therefore, will show the bands of the North-Western Bushmen to be clans is problematical. The trend of the available data gives no clear indication either way.

Encampments and Dwellings

361 Moving about constantly as they do in the search for food, the
221 Bushmen build no permanent homes. More or less fixed villages are
[184] found only among the tribes living in the Okavango-Zambesi region, but even here there are distinct quarters for the winter (dry season) and for the summer (rainy season). During the dry season the Tannekwe live in the marsh lands of the Okavango basin, where they have small villages surrounded with palisades, after the style of their Bantu neighbours. In the rainy season, however, these become uninhabitable. The people then move out to villages on the edge of the surrounding plains, where they also have their hunting grounds. The Hukwe on the plains north-east of Lake Ngami live in similar villages during the rainy season, from which they scatter about in family groups in the dry season to hunt and collect.[1]

361 Everywhere else the encampments of the Bushmen are temporary.
342 The tribes formerly living in the mountainous regions of the south and east often made their homes in caves and under rock-shelters, in which relics of their occupation may still be found. Even to-day the Namib Bushmen, during the latter part of the dry season, also live chiefly in caves or under overhanging rock-shelters on the high

[1] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296, 297.

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221 compelled to turn back to permanent waterholes. Thus in the rainy
312 season the Aikwe, Tsaukwe, /Amkwe, /Dukwe, and Tserekwe all hunt
423 in the wide sandveld pierced by the bed of the Letyahau, keeping to some extent to their respective hunting territories, but apparently also hunting together peacefully in the most central parts of the region. In the dry season, however, they turn back to the limestone pans of the Ghansiveld and Mahuraveld and to the river-courses of the Tauche-Botletle system, where permanent water is to be found.[1] The same alternation of residence with the seasons occurs, as we have seen, among the Tannekwe and the Hukwe, and may also be noted among the Kung and the Auen in the Omaheke and Kaukauveld.[2]

It is not only in alternation of residence that the change of season
●[621] makes itself felt. In some cases it also affects the very cohesion of the band itself; for, as already mentioned, both among the Auen and among some of the Central Kalahari tribes the members of the band concentrate together during the rainy season when there is a more abundant supply of food, but as the dry season comes on the families scatter and wander off in different directions.

From their huts the people go out every day in search of food.
462 The women rise early, light the fire, and prepare the food for the
512 morning meal, which usually consists of veldkos left over from the previous evening. After having eaten, the men may go out hunting or visiting or engage in some other occupation, such as preparing skins, weapons, and utensils. The women accompany one another in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. "One may see a group of women and little children start off in one direction, single file of course, then some men in another, then four or five boys together, then girls, small and big, then some more men, and so on." When food is obtainable at no great distance, the women are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have far to go they may not reach home till late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they start the fires and proceed to prepare the food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water from the neighbouring waterhole.
[264] Food is ready by the time the men arrive in the late afternoon, and the evening meal, the principal meal of the day, is then eaten without delay. Meals are taken in common by the members of the family,
512 each family eating at its own hut. Afterwards visits are usually
[574]

[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 31–2.
[2] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303.

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use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in the werft, as firemaking is a matter of serious import and the chief is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off misfortune. The first fire kindled in a new camp is never allowed to die out."

As an illustration he cites[1] the practices existing among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan. Here, when it becomes necessary to move camp, as for example after a death has taken place, the whole community takes up all its goods and chattels, and, led by the *gei-khoib* (chief), sets off in search of a new site to be selected by the latter. Having found a suitable one he places his belongings on the spot on which his own hut is to be erected. His followers, passing on his left, take up suitable places for their huts in like manner. ." The chief then proceeds to the large tree (*/heis*) in the centre and kindles a fire underneath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies *tnorab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-/ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*/ou-/ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-/ais* and the women may fetch fire from the */ou-/ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-/ais* go out, as sometimes happens during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the */ou-/ais*. The */ou-/ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-/ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*. If in such an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the */heis* with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new */ou-/ais* kindled

[1] Op. cit., 87–8; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52–3.

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Chapter VI

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIFE

Land Tenure

Each hunting band among the Bushmen, as we have already noted, claims rights of ownership over a certain stretch of land, and vigorously resents trespass upon it by members of other bands. Within the band land is owned in common. The hunting territory belongs to the whole band, and all the members of the band have an equal right to hunt and collect over any part of it and to use the water in it. Often the members of the band are scattered apart, so that the same territory is exploited by the inhabitants of several different encampments. These encampments, as we have seen, are not made up of any fixed number of families, but fluctuate a good deal in size. Whatever their momentary disposition, however, their inhabitants always roam within a definitely limited area, and it is always the members of the same band who establish these different encampments within its bounds.

As the Bushmen practise neither agriculture nor pastoralism, there is no question of cultivation or grazing rights. There is said, however, to exist a certain private ownership of land among the Auen, in the sense that when a man burns a patch of veld in order to promote the growth of veldkos on it, he alone has a claim to its products. Others, even people living at the same encampment, may not gather veldkos on this patch without his permission.[1] Somewhat analogous to this are the private rights recognized by all Bushmen over objects found in the veld. A man who finds an ostrich nest with one or two eggs, for example, sticks an arrow in the ground close by as a sign of ownership, and waits until the tale of eggs is complete before carrying them off. Should another man take the marked eggs, the first finder follows the spoor to the thief's hut, and demands them back. If they are restored, there is no fighting, but the thief does not escape reproaches for wrongdoing, especially from the neighbours of the finder; while in case of refusal bloodshed almost inevitably follows. In the same

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 155.

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where bush is scarce, frequently seek shelter during the day in the numerous anteater holes. Finding a morning spoor leading to one of these holes, the hunter, silently as a cat, creeps up to the hole and plants himself before it, leaving a small open space under the left arm, for which the buck charges, when it is pinned and dealt a stunning blow over the head with the kirri held in the right hand. In this way numbers of these animals are killed. The kirri is also used for knocking down hares and game birds; it is thrown from a distance of twenty-five to thirty feet, and generally stuns the game so that it is easily secured. Birds are preferably aimed at just when they are rising from the ground, as the slightest blow will then upset their balance and bring them down before they have time to escape.

Bigger game, such as the giraffe, eland, hartebeest, ostrich, and springbok are generally hunted with the bow and arrow, which are used all the year round. As a rule the men hunt alone, or a man and boy together. They find the spoor of an animal and follow it, finally creeping up to the leeward side on hands and knees, using all possible cover, and then raise themselves gently to shoot. Or else they lie in wait for the game on its way to the water, or in the vicinity of a place where it comes to lick salt. The men hide themselves between stones, or dig a hole in the ground, piling up the earth in front and sticking green branches on top to deceive the game. Occasionally, again, several men surround game in a pan, some standing to leeward ready to shoot, while the others drive from windward, approaching from different quarters.

Once he has wounded an animal, the hunter takes up its trail and follows it leisurely, knowing that he will ultimately reach the corpse, if the poison on the arrow has been at all effective. There is always the great danger, however, that if the buck has run too far, and he takes too long to reach it, hyenas or the vultures may have got there first. Also care must be taken that the animal does not run out of the hunting territory, as it is then as good as lost, or, where the neighbouring band is friendly enough to permit of its being followed over the border, the meat must be shared with the members of that band. When at last he comes up with the buck the hunter, if it is not already dead, dispatches it with the spear or kirri. He then cuts it up, roasts and eats some of the meat, and carries the rest home; or, if near the huts, he may carry the whole buck home. If it is too big to manage, he will light a fire to summon the other members of the band to the spot. Everybody shares in the meat, which is doled

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222 622 [184] A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season, the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to [782] [539] Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you, please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs, which up till now they might not touch.

222 184 These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 [462] [857] [415] [237] Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a water-bottle.

312 182 [221] [621] The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound [823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kŭ-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

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daughters are competely excluded from the inheritance. The eldest son also becomes the head of the family after the death of his father, and must care for the widow and give her food.[1]

Regulation of Public Life

In spite of the loose cohesion of the band, and the facility with which the family groups composing it may wander about separately, the Bushmen are by no means devoid of government and law. Where they are subject to the Bantu or other peoples there is of course not much possibility of an independent political life. In the Okavango marshes, for example, they are in the position of serfs to the BaTawana, by whom they are required to pay an annual tribute of skins, ostrich feathers, and egg-shell beads. The territory occupied by the BaTawana is divided into local districts, each under control of a minor chief (*kxosani*), to whom all the Bushmen in the district have to pay their tribute, and for whom they often have to perform such services as herding his cattle and hunting for him. In the Oschimpoloveld again the Bushmen pay tribute to the OvaKwangari; in the Southern Kalahari they are the serfs and herdsmen of the BaTlaro and other BeChwana tribes among whom they live, and so, too, in the North-East Kalahari, where they are subject to the BaMangwato.[2]

But where the Bushmen are still to some extent independent, each band, as we have seen, is a separate political unit and regulates its own affairs. There is no well-developed system of organized government. In the small family groups of the Cape and Namib Bushmen and of the !O Kung deference is paid to the head of the group, but his authority in general is very limited. The common affairs of the

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 10, 35; Kaufmann, op. cit., 159; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

[2] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 121–2; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 65–6; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Languages," 36. In August, 1926, the High Commissioner for S. Africa (H.E. the Earl of Athlone), addressing an assembly of BaMangwato at their chief town Serowe, made the following important declaration with reference to this servitude: "It has been stated that the Masarwa are the slaves of the Mangwato. The Government does not regard them as slaves, but realizes that they are a backward people who serve the Mangwato in return for the food and shelter they receive. I understand that for the most part they are contented and that they do not wish to change. But the Government will not allow any tribe to demand compulsory service from another, and wants to encourage the Masarwa to support themselves. Any Masarwa who wish to leave their masters and live independently of them should understand that they are at liberty to do so, and that if the Mangwato attempt to retain them against their will the Government will not allow it. It is the duty of the Chiefs and Headmen to help these people to stand on their own feet, and I expect the missionaries and the Chief and his Councillors to join the Government in preventing anything in the nature of compulsory service in Bechuanaland" (*Report on Bechuanaland Protectorate*, 1926–7, Colonial Reports No. 1379, p. 6). What effect this pronouncement has had upon the status of the Bushmen it is still too early to determine.

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judge, the head of the band, but in cases of murder, bodily injury 622
resulting in death, and treason the latter is assisted by another man. 692
The judges can invite or summon witnesses, and after coming to a [695]
decision announce it in the presence of all the members of the band.
Murder is punished by death, the sentence being executed by the 681
relatives of the dead man, who kill his slayer with the kirri or by
stoning him; treason is also punished by death, and so, in former
times, was adultery, although nowadays the adulterer is merely
beaten very severely. Theft, the concealment of stolen property,
assaults leading to bodily injury, and offences against morality are
punished by thrashing. Attempted crimes as well as aiding and
abetting receive the same punishment as the accomplished deed, but
self-defence is in no way penalized.

How far this description can be accepted as entirely accurate is 114
difficult to say, since Trenk in discussing the legal usages of these 692
Bushmen makes no mention of such a form of procedure. There is 681
no reason, however, to dismiss it as improbable, since the Nama [171]
Hottentots, under whose influence the Namib Bushmen have come
to a very large extent, have a more elaborate legal system along the
same lines, and the Bushman procedure may well have been imitated
from this. There is nothing, as far as our present information goes, [184]
to suggest the existence of such an organized procedure in any of the
other Bushman tribes.

Relations with Other Bands

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Each band, as has been shown, has its own particular hunting 621
territory, and in general the members of the band keep within their
own bounds. But people of neighbouring bands do occasionally
have relations with one another. Intermarriage, for example, is a
rule among the North-Western tribes, where also a newly-married [591]
man generally remains for some time with his wife's people before
returning with her to his own band. Visits are apparently also [574]
frequent between families connected by marriage, and in any case, as
we have seen, a woman always goes back to her parents' home for her
first confinement. Trading visits, again, are often undertaken from [438]
one band to another, while under special circumstances we may also
find the members of several different bands assembled together for a
while. It has already been mentioned, for instance, how an outbreak
of rinderpest resulting in the death of many cattle drew together

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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619 621 Bushmen from all parts of the Ghansiveld, even from different tribes, owing to the abundance of animal food thus provided. And again [221] [423] Passarge states that in the Central Kalahari there are also common hunting grounds in which during the rainy season members not only of different bands but also of several different tribes may be found hunting together peacefully, although at other times of the year each band carefully avoids going beyond its own area.

114 619 621 All this suggests that there must be some sort of machinery, however imperfect or ill-organized, to regulate social contacts between different bands. Unfortunately the information bearing upon this most important point is so inadequate that it is extremely difficult to determine to what extent the bands are socially interrelated. There are indeed one or two hints of common meetings at special times for ceremonial purposes. Thus Kaufmann, in describing the boys' [881] puberty ceremonies among the Auen, states that the initiates are drawn together from several neighbouring villages,[1] while Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung, makes the tantalizingly brief statement [574] that in the months of March and April different bands come together for great feasts.[2] Occasionally, again, a weaker band may seek and 726 obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour. Thus the men of several 619 Auen bands united with some Naron to attack another Auen band, 621 although once the fight was over the alliance was dissolved.[3] Such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature, nor does it appear that the different bands of the same tribe are commonly organized together for political purposes. But the occurrence of such interrelations as have just been noted definitely indicates that there must be some form of regulated intercourse between neighbouring bands. Without further research in the field, however, no additional light can be thrown upon the nature and mechanisms of this intercourse.

578 619 621 628 On the other hand, the relations between neighbouring bands are not always friendly. Homicide, trespass, theft, adultery and wife-stealing give rise to quarrels and conflicts which generally assume the form of a blood feud and may even lead to war.[4] Trespass especially [685] 648 685 is a frequent cause of dispute, as all the Bushmen readily attack those who encroach on their land. This applies not only to other Bushmen,

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 137.
[2] Lebzelter, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 13.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 134.
[4] Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 154; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169, 170; Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," 13; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 40; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 85.

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but formerly even to Europeans. In the Cape, for example, "If the white man were a passing hunter and friendly, if he shared his bag with the Bushmen, he was welcomed and could travel through the territory in peace; but when the settlers came in, permanently occupying the land at the springs, and doing great execution among the game, then the Bushmen retaliated by shooting the intruders or killing their stock. Whereupon the white man, unaware of any unfriendly behaviour on his part, dubbed the Bushman an untamable savage and a thief, and did his best to imprison or shoot him. Hence the war of extermination, which has reduced the race of Colonial Bushmen to its present vanishing figure."[1]

Among the Auen, when neighbouring bands are on friendly terms, wounded game may be followed by the members of the one on to the territory of the other. A portion of the game must, however, be given to the owners of the land. Refusal to do so is always dangerous. Where the bands are very friendly it does not necessarily lead to bloodshed; the trespasser is merely driven away, and his weapons and game confiscated. Otherwise, however, he is killed. Women caught trespassing are seized and taken to the camp of their captors; this often leads to war, when they are violated. And again the killing of a man by the members of another band always results in a state of feud.

It may happen that between two bands there is so strong a feud of this nature that a meeting between their members invariably leads to bloodshed. It is probably due to this, says Kaufmann, that among the Auen many bands are so antagonistic that violation of the territorial bounds leads to immediate punishment by death; and he cites the bands at Gam and Rietfontein, between whom there was a long-standing enmity. Among the Kung there is also much hostility between neighbouring bands, especially when, as occasionally happens, an attempt is made by one band to take from another the land it occupies, if this is very rich in veldkos. The oppressed band, if the weaker, must move, but the fights are conducted with great bitterness, and the deep enmity aroused extends over generations. A similar condition of feud is reported to have existed between several bands of the Namib Bushmen, where, for example, in 1907 the people of Buntveldschuhhorn, in consequence of such a state of hostility, led an attack on those living at Aurus. Feud is also common between bands belonging to tribes of different speech, e.g. the Auen and the

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii.